Maulana Mohamed Ali Jauhar

BY:

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ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE

TRUSTED HAND OF

MAULANA MOHAMED ALI JAUHAR

AND

QAID-E-AZAM MOHAMED ALI JINNAH

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Publisher's Note

For the Mohamed Ali Educational Society, it is indeed an honour to be able to publish this book by Baba-i-Sahafat-i-Sarhad, late Allah Bakhsh Yusufi. Mr. Yusufi's work on the life and mission of Maulana Mohamed Ali Jauhar is indeed a befitting tribute of a disciple to his master. Mr. Yusufi truly has given the ultimate sacrifice in the cause that he held dear to his heart while it pulsated. It is for us now to keep and preserve his thoughts and words for posterity. Not every day are courageous people born; nor every day is a good book written. Let us in all solemnity pay our silent homage to Mr. Yusufi for bringing to us in an extermely readable narrative the life of so great a man, Maulana Mohamed Ali Jauhar.

Mr. Yusufi's first book on this subject, *Life of Maulana Mohamed Ali Jauhar* was published in 1968. Field Marshal Mohamed Ayub Khan, the then President of Pakistan, had very graciously contributed a foreword to it.

We tried our best to publish the second book of the series, but due to unavoidable circumstances, we could not do this earlier. We are however grateful to Almighty Allah in now being able to present this book to you.

We hope it will receive as hearty a welcome as our first book did. Such encouragement will enable us to venture and publish other works of Mr. Yusufi, which represent an important historical record of our time, specially of Muslim Movements in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

14 August 1980

TARIQ BIN YUSUFI
Honorary Secretary,
Mohamed Ali Educational Society

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

The following books have been consulted and referred to in this book. The under mentioned abbreviations are generally used :

1.	C. T.	Choice of the Turks — By Mohamedali
2.	D. A. R.	Daily Administration Report 1915–16
3.	D. H. K.	Daily Herald, Karachi.
4.	G. A.	Gandhi and Anarchy — By Sir S. Nair
5.	H. A.	Hayat-e-Ajmal — By Qazi Abdul Ghafoor
6.	H. T.	Historical Trail of Ali Brothers
7.	I. S. H.	Isharat — By Alama Anayatulla Khan
8.	L. W.	Last Words of Mohamed Ali
9.	M. A. D.	Mohamedali — By Abdul Majid Daryabadi
10.	M. K.	Meri Kahani (Urdu) — By J. L. Nehru
11.	M. A. K.	Memoirs of Agha Khan — By Agha Khan
12.	M. I. N.	Muslim India —By Mohammed Noman
13.	M. L. A. F.	My Life—A Fragment — Edited By Afzal Iqbal
14.	M. A. G.	Mohamed Ali — Published By Genesh & Co.
15.	M. M. A.	Maulana Mohamed Ali—By Said Mohamed Khan
16.	M. G.	The Manchester Guardian.
17.	P. T. P.	Pathway to Pakistan—By Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman
18.	R. R. O. A.	Rambles and Recollection of an Old Aligarian By Major Said M. Khan
19.	R. D. H.	Report Delegation of Hejaz Published By Khalafat Committee
10.	S. M. A.	Seeret-e-Mohamedali — By Rais Ahmed Jafray
21.	Speeches	Selected Writings and speeches of Maulana Mohamed Ali — Edited by Afzal Iqbal
22.	T. P. D.	Thought on the present Discontent By Mohamed Ali
23.	Y. Z.	Yusufzai Pathan — By A. B. Yusufi
24.	Y. K. S.	Europe-Ka-Safar — Edited By Mohamed Sarwar

The Author

Born in Peshawar on 25 December 1900 in the Ghilzai tribe, Allah Buksh Yusufi was educated at Peshawar. He proceeded to England for higher studies. There he also became the first Pathan Associate Member of Book Keeping Association, London. He returned home in February 1918 and at the instance of his elders joined the Militia only to find himself completely out of place. Despite various promises of rapid promotion, he gave up his carrier in the Militia. His enthusiasm for truth and freedom led him to participate in the anti-Rowlatt Act agitation. For this act of courage, he was court-martialled in 1919, and sentenced to six months internment, a lenient sentence because of his young age.

He was the first Muslim in the Frontier to resign from a Government post in order to join the Non-cooperation and Khilafat Movements. He also took an active part in the Hijrat movement and was elected Secretary of the Hijrat Committee, Shakbadar. As part of these movements, he organised a historic public boycott in Peshawar on the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1919. Simultaneously with these activities, he also started a weekly *Sarhad* from Peshawar in 1921 and turned it into a daily in 1924. For all these activities, he became a marked man, and was ere long imprisoned. Meantime, he had

became the Secretary, Provincial Khilafat Committee, and President of the Khilafat Volunteer Corps. From 1925 onwards, he lent his powerful voice to the demand for the extension of the constitutional reforms to N. W. F. P. In 1925 he came close to Hazrat Baba Haji' Sahib of Tarangzai, a renowned freedom fighter, who presented Yusufi in jail a 300-year old hand-written copy of the Holy Quran. It is rather interesting that Maulana Mohamed Ali took this copy of the holy book along with him when he went to England to attend the first meeting of the Round Table Conference in 1930.

His contribution to the Khilafat cause was widely acknowledge, and he was asked by the All World Muslim Conference, held in Mecca in 1926, to undertake an All-India tour to elicit opinion on various issues and submit his report to Maulana Mohamed Ali. But his arrest prevented him from undertaking this assignment. Maulana Mohamed Ali was highly impressed by him, hence he was appointed General Secretary of the All India Khilafat Committee in 1926, and simultaneously became editor of the Khilafat Committee's official mouthpiece *Khilafat* of Bombay, an Urdu daily. From then onwards the Khilafat cause became his life passion and by virtue of this new office, he became involved in Indian politics. He opposed vehemently the Nehru report and supported the Ali Brothers against the Congress and it Frontier henchman, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He was a member of the Council of the All-India Muslim Conference

(1928), and the All-Party Convention held at Calcutta (1928). In 1929, at the All-India Khilafat Committee session at Lahore, he moved a resolution demanding full independence for the subcontinent. Maulana Mohamed Ali wanted him to work as his Secretary during the Round Table Conference, but his rather heavy publication duties prevented him from accompanying his leader.

Simultaneously, he continued his literary pursuits. His book, *The Frontier Tragedy* detailed and documented British excesses and became a work of reference for parliamentarians. The British Government prosecuted him and summarily sentenced him to transportation for life. However, on Maulana Mohamed Ali's intervention, the sentence was not implemented. It is a measure of his involvement in the struggle for freedom that between 1919 and 1946 he was sent to jail about a dozen times.

Being an ardent supporter of the Khilafat cause he remained actively associated with it even after Mohamed Ali's death. In addition, he also acted as Secretary of the Muslim delegation during the Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference in 1932.

Yusufi joined Muslim League in 1935 and was appointed President of the Bombay Muslim League. He was also elected Secretary of the Muslim League Conference held in Peshawar in 1936. He served the Muslim League in various capacities, both at the center and in the province. His literary abilities were utilised by the Quaid-i-Azam and the League. He was

appointed Senior Publicity Officer and editor of the NWFP's official publication, *Information*, and *Ittehad* when the League Ministry was formed in 1942. He edited the *Hilal-i-Pakistan* (Urdu) in 1943. He was elected President of Anjuman-i-Taraqi-i-Urdu, and Secretary of the Quaid-i-Azam Educational Society in the same year. He actively campaigned for Pakistan during the referendum and was imprisoned by the Congress Government. The cause of Muslim unity was Yusufi's life-long passion. He pursued his literary activities after partition with the same enthusiasm. He was a prolific writer and produced some seventy two works, in addition to his editorial duties. He had edited several dailies and weeklies both in English and Urdu. His work entitled *Tarikh-i-Azad Pathan* in five volumes is considered one of the most authoritative works on the subject. An Award was confered on his book *The Yusuf-Zai, Afghan* by the President of Pakistan, in 1962.

His failing health did not allow him to remain active in journalism and he had to resign from his editorial duties in 1968. He then began writing the biography of Maulana Mohamed Ali which he continued, despite serious deterirorat-ion of health and hospitalization, and which he finally completed on his death bed. This biography is unique in the sense that the author had the unique opportunity of being close to Maulana Mohamed Ali. It brings to light several aspects of the Maulana's life which have hitherto remained ignored. For these reasons, it represents a welcome addition to the body of literature on the man and on the period.

Preface*

TO compile the life-sketch of a genius like Maulana Mohamed Ali Jauhar is not an ordinary undertaking. It requires a brilliant pen, vast knowledge and unlimited resources to collect material from home and abroad, which this humble writer totally lacks. Justice could not be done by an ordinary writer penning the life-sketch of a person who in the words of the famous historian, H. G. Wells, 'had the pen of Macauly, the heart of Napoleon and the tongue of Burke.'

Undoubtedly, on the death of Mohamed Ali hundreds of his life-sketches appeared in black and white, in the form of pamphlets and articles, and to such an extent that the eminent leaders of the time had to envy; but, surely, none of the said sketches gave detailed description of his life, from cradle to grave. Thus, it pained every self-respecting national worker to see that such a high personality, like that of

*Abridged from the Preface to the author's earlier work on LIFE OF MAULANA MOHAMED ALI JAUHAR. This Preface was written in the Heart Ward, Civil Hospital, Karachi, on March 10, 1968.

Mohamed Ali, had been so completely ignored by the writers in pre-partition India as well as in Pakistan.

The first glimpse of hope appeared when in the early 1960, Abdul Waheed Khan, Central Minister for Information, announced that he was working over a scheme under which biographies of prominent national workers would be published and the list of names given therein also contained the name of Mohamed Ali. But, alas, a political whirlwind not only scattered pages of the said scheme, rather it also swept away the Minister himself, and thereafter heard nothing further in this connection.

However, the imaginary scheme, as it may be called, encouraged me to try and play my part in compiling a biographical sketch of Maulana Mohamed Ali with whom I had the proud privilege to work, as his follower, co-worker and even co-Secretary in the All India Khilafat Committee. With the said encouraging news or scheme I proposed to compile Mohamed Ali's life-sketch in such a way that every chapter was to be entrusted to a person who knew Mohamed Ali personally *in some particular* sphere of his life.

I addressed about three hundred letters to all those whom I knew or gathered that they knew some particular aspect of Mohamed Ali's life; but regretfully, it has to be admitted, the response was poor, very poor indeed. Some of the addressees were

ready to pen articles, but of general nature as we see in daily newspapers and barely a few agreed to write paragraphs on particular aspects of his life. The most encouraging replies received were from Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan of Meerut, a leader of repute, once President of the All India Khilafat Committee and under whose guidance I proudly performed the duties of a Secretary of the said organization of international fame.

He consented to write under the title: "Mohamed Ali—The Khilafatist", and it would have been the most important chapter if ever written. The second co-operative reply was from Hafiz Fayyaz Ahmad, who had worked for more than thirty years as Registrar of the Jamia Millia. He chose for himself the title: "Mohamed Ali And The Jamia Millia Islamia". The third promising letter was from Dr. Syed Mahmud, a well known Khilafat and Congress worker and author.

Unfortunately, the first two persons breathed their last before they could fulfill their obligations, and the third after writing two or three letters in this connection, abruptly assumed silence which was never to be broken. Similarly, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman who also knew me perfectly well, in the first instance failed to extend even the courtesy of an acknowledgement of my two letters, and, in reply to the third, he so haughtily replied that :

"It will not be possible for me to write anything about Maulana Mohamed Ali Jauhar now because I am myself writing my reminiscences."

A man who could not dare speak with a loud voice in the presence of Mohamed Ali was now suggesting to me that I should pick up notes from his autobiography to be published. The memories published under the title of "Pathway to Pakistan" contained nothing but self-praise of its author claiming all the credit for all the success of the Muslim Movements launched in India during the first half of the 20th century and attributing all failures to his opponents.

In short, under these trying circumstances the work on the life of Moulana Mohamed Ali Jauhar was undertaken. In the beginning, a lot of time was wasted. Later, I fell prey to heart trouble – angina of acute nature – and thus there was no light for me to proceed with the project; but, at the same time I was not willing to give up despite the fact that my resources were limited, very limited indeed. However, I took the work in hand and compiled the book unhesitatingly as was proposed in the very beginning I am also grateful to Mohamed Anwer Harris, Assistant Collector of Customs, Karachi, a brilliant scholar of Urdu, Persian and English, who on my request agreed to go through and revise my manuscript.

Finally, in all humbleness and devotion I present this compilation with a request to kindly overlook my shortcomings and omissions. May these pages induce some capable writers to come forward and write a brilliant biography of our national hero, Maulana Mohamed Ali Jauhar, to be produced in several volumes. I hope they have more resources at their command and are more fortunate to acquire national support and backing for this sacred cause.

گر قبول افتد زہے عزو شرف

Karachi.
March 10, 1968.

Allah Bakhsh Yusufi

Introduction

By

Prof. Sharif al Mujahid

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INTRODUCTION

THE last ninety years of Muslim servitude under the British in India, consequent upon the final dissolution and demise of the once glorious Mughal Empire in 1857, can be broadly divided into three distinct periods: the era of loyalism (1858-1912); the era of romanticism (1912-32); and the era of realism (1932-47).

Syed Ahmad Khan was the high priest and the foremost Muslim leader in the loyalist period whereas in the last phase Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah became the symbol of Muslim unity, Muslim assertiveness as well as Muslim determination to wrest an honourable place for the 100 million Muslims of South Asia.

During the transitory period there were several claimants for Muslim India's loyalty and allegiance, but the place of pride went to Mohamed Ali. Thus, as the romaticist era represents the link between the age of loyalism and that of political realism in modern Indo-Muslim history, so does Mohamed Ali represent the link between the two political giants in that history–Syed Ahmad Khan, on the one hand, and Quaid-i-Azam, on the other.

Thus, along with Syed Ahmad Khan and Jinnah, Maulana Mohamed Ali formed a trio—the trio which between themselves dominated the Indo-Muslim political scene from the revolt of 1857 to the birth of Pakistan.

The Indian Muslims came to the plank of political realism as represented by the Pakistan ideal via the path of loyalism and romanticism. And the romanticist Mohamed Ali, who was a loyalist in his early political life and a realist in his later one, provided the crucial link between Syed Ahmad Khan's basically loyalist approach and Jinnah's profoundly realistic one.

For the sort of emotional, psychological, as well as religious crisis in which Muslim India found itself engulfed since the beginning of the First World War, there is scant doubt that Mohamed Ali seemed eminently qualified to lead. Well educated with a grounding in the culture of the West but a thoroughgoing Muslim; an ardent advocate of Islam and of Indian freedom at the same time; an effective speaker who could give eloquent expression to what his people vaguely thought and scarcely felt, besides being a fire-eating, emotion-laden orator, as well as the wielder of a moving pen, that would ruffle up his compatriots' spirits and put, *a la* Antony, "a tongue in each of their wounds"; one who could see things only in colours of black and white, who possessed a head and heart always at "bursting point", whose blood tingled "in every vein of his body" and above all, who "felt more like a bomb ready to burst than a human being who could deliberate, decide and control his actions and speech"; yet a warm and exciting personality exuding enthusiasm and inducing instant loyalty and admiration, if only because of his natural flair for dramatisation and demagogy which excited popular imagination; energetic, enthusiatic, sincere, selfless, stoic, passionate, impressive and daring—these characteristics made Mohamed Ali the hero of the Khilafat crisis, the man of the moment.

Although in the decade after his assumption of the leadership of Muslim India in 1920 he met with a series of political discomfitures—encompassing, in particular, his failure in the triple mission of the restoration of the caliphate, of effecting Hindu Muslim unity, and of liberating India from British yoke—he continued to cast a mesmeric spell on the minds of his generation, if only because of the courage of conviction, the boldness of attitude, and the spirit of sacrifice that informed his actions and activities, as well as his extremely eloquent tongue and powerful pen. Thus, he became a legend in his own lifetime and, to a lesser extent, ever since. Little surprising, then, that he is one of the few Muslim leaders whose death anniversary occasions memorial meetings and articles in the press every year, and whose birth centenary celebrations were organised in both India and Pakistan during 1978-79.

Yet, neither the period which was so crucial in the evolution of Muslim politics towards Pakistan, nor the man who so dominated the Indo-Muslim political scene for two decades, has found chroniclers, researchists and scholars to reconstruct faithfully the epoch-making events of the period and the signal contribution made by Maulana Mohamed Ali in canalising and guiding those events. True: there have been studies, chiefly by Afzal Iqbal and Ra'is Ahmad Jafri, but a definitive study is yet to come. It is against this backdrop that Mr. Allah Baksh Yusufi's bold effort to give an extremely informative biography of Maulana Mohamed Ali Jauhar should be appraised and evaluated.

Mr. Yusufi has been closely associated with the Maulana for a decade and with his elder brother, Maulana Shaukat Ali, much longer and till his death in 1938.

Mr. Yusufi was a journalist of repute, having founded an Urdu paper, Sarhad, to espouse the cause of Pan-Islamism, of Khilafat, and of Indian freedom, and having edited the *Khilafat* of Bombay and other Khilafat Committee publications. He imbibed the spirit of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice from his political mentor; under his inspiration he dedicated himself to serving Islam by word and deed while simultaneously waging a relentless struggle against colonial rule. For his daring activities, he was jailed in 1922 and was sentenced to transportation for life in 1930, which sentence, however, was not carried out because of Mohamed Ali's reported threat to walk out of the First Round Table Conference (1930). He authored several books, mainly centred on themes based on developments in the Frontier, including *Frontier Tragedy* which details and documents the mass upsurge against the British in Peshawar in April 1930, and for which he was sentenced to transportation for life. All of his works were extremely well received.

Mr. Yusufi is, thus, eminently suited to do a biography of the great leader. He has brought to bear in his discussions a wealth of detail as well as of rather intimate information, to which only those closely associated with the Maulana could have had access, which helps to place the events and developments in the period in their proper perspective. Another important characteristic of Yusufi's work is that it brings to the fore the self-perceived role of the greatest Khilafatist of the day, and, in consequence, helps to bring a greater awareness as well as understanding of the man and his mission. What further makes the account so interesting is that Mr. Yusufi writes with sincerity and with passion. It is indeed a measure of his sincerity and his passionate

attachment to his leader that despite hospitalization due to heart attack, he continued to work on the manuscript, completing it finally barely three days before his death.

In giving us this work, Mr. Yusufi has sought to reconstruct the story of the most tempestuous leader of Muslim India. In so doing, while he has in part paid off this debt to the fount of his inspiration, he has, on the other hand, put the whole nation under debt.

Karachi
16 April 1980

Sharif al Mujahid
Director
Quaid-i-Azam Academy

The Khilafat Movement

ISLAMIC BROTHERHOOD AND KHILAFAT

INDIAN Muslims were never slow in showing their spirit of universal brotherhood in a practical way or in offering help to their downtrodden brethern wherever and whenever they saw them in trouble. They wholeheartedly supported the Turks and the Arabs in the hour of need during the Tripoli and the Balkan wars and helped them as best as they could. The wounds inflicted on the Muslims during these two wars were still fresh when the First World War of 1914-18 broke out. Circumstances compelled the Ottoman Empire to appear on the battlefield on the side fighting against the Allies. Indian Muslims' sympathies were naturally with their Turkish brothers. Their leaders were put behind the bars, repression was let loose on Muslims to keep them under control and not to allow them to raise any voice in support of their Khalifa, the the Sultan of Turkey. As the Allies won the war, their

anti-Turkish vendetta knew no bounds. They sought to efface the very name of the "Sick man of Europe", as Turkey was then called, and distribute among themselves the spoils of that great Empire which had once ruled over even a great part of Europe itself. During the war, in spite of all repression, the Indian Muslims lent their support, moral as well as material, to the Turks. When the war ended they demonstrated and demanded that full justice be done to the falling Muslim regime.

Towards the end of 1918, they organised themselves under the leadership of Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, and formed an institution called the Khilafat Conference. At a mammoth public meeting on November 24, 1918, they courageously declared that Muslims of India would not participate in the Peace celebrations organised by the Government if the just demands of the Muslim world were not conceded. Then Ali Brothers were behind the prison walls. On their release they rushed to Amritsar where the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League and the Khilafat Conference were holding their mcst important sessions. There the Brothers joined the Congress, for the first time, and Shaukat Ali presided over the Khilafat session. All responsibilities fell on the shoulders of these two brothers. The Khilafat Conference thenceforth became a living mass body and the solely accredited organisation of Muslim India, with high and low, rich and poor, all enthusiastically working under

its banner. Only a few self interested *anglophiles* kept themselves aloof from the general stream.

It was the first real mass organisation representing Muslim India with its own flag, bearing white Crescent on a red background, similar to that used by the Turks. Its offices were spread all over the country; the village organisations were controlled by the town committees, and the town committees were under the supervison of Provincial bodies, which in turn were under the guidance of the Central Khilafat Committee with headquarters at Bombay. The local Committees had their own Khilafat Volunteer Corps, well disciplined with green military uniform and trained to face all eventualities. The names of 'Mohamedali-Shaukatali' became a household word. One could hear their name in remote villages and even in the tribal territories.

Ali Brothers were the real spirit behind the Khilafat Movement which after the great Mujahid Movement had tried to unite the Muslims and organise them to fight for the liberation of their nation and country as well. It became an institution of international fame and enjoyed its prestige among the Muslim States to such an extent that the two Arabian warring parties, Sultan Ibn Saud and Sharif Hüssain of Mecca, sought its help. Sultan Ibn Saud even feared that Shaukat Ali might become the Khalifa replacing the Sultan of Turkey. The story is narrated in the following pages. The Ali Brothers had the credit of arousing the slumber-

ing Muslims of the world; they organised them to fight for their existance, for Islam and the country to which they belonged. It was the Khilafat Committee which had influenced Sultan Ibn Saud to summon ***Motamar Alam-e-Islam*** (World Muslim Conference) and had infused in the nation the spirit to try and unite the Muslims the world over.

In the words of Mr. Justice Qadeeruddin, of the High Court of West Pakistan

> " If the masses of Pakistan love Turkey Iran and Arabia today and feel a communion with the Muslims of the world, the credit goes to the vast religio-political movements which were led by him and secondly his inspiring as well as affection-winning personality. If the masses of this country have any sense of their destiny in the world, it is the legacy of his work and devotion."
>
> "He was a citizen of the Muslim world who lived and fought for the world of Islam."

p.174 Selections from Comrade.

It is a painful story to relate that those Muslims who had aroused the Indians as a whole and by the Hindu-Muslim Unity had shattered the mighty British Government, fell in the end, a prey to Hindu machinations and began to fight among themselves, which afforded an opportunity to many of the hobbedehoys

to become politicasters and play politics as hobgoblins to create hoity-toity scenes. Thus by the internal intrigues, hatched by their own comrades & co-workers the Khilafat Committee gradually became weak, and when the ill-famed Nehru Report was published India saw many Muslim leaders like Abdul Kalam Azad*, Dr. Syed Mahmud*, Khaliq-uz-Zaman* and others 'including the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind 'dancing to the tune of their Hindu friends and chanting the hymns inspired by the Mahatma and his co-workers. Ali Brothers were neither disheartened nor despaired. They had the courage to oppose all for the sake of Islam and Muslims of the country. They stood rock like for the right cause, opposed the Report (as related elsewhere in this book) defeated all and compelled the Congress to drown it in the Ravi river near Lahore during December 1929.

They demanded that the Indian Constitution must accept Muslim majority in all the six provinces where they were in greater number and were ready to give weightage to Hindu minorities in the Muslim Provinces and expected the same for Muslims in the provinces where they werein minority. This undoubtedly, was the first step towards establishing Pakistan and the Ali Brothers can rightly be called the originators of Pakistan. If the Muslim leaders, similar to those referred to above had not been won over by the Congress and if they had given preference to the Muslim cause over their personal

* See Appendex

interests and jealousies the Khilafat Committee would *have continued to exist as one of the most influential* organisations of the Muslim world. After Mohamed Ali's death Shaukat Ali kept the torch burning but it proved too difficult for him to oppose single handed the mighty British Government as well as the Indian National Congress in a weakened position. However, he kept fighting against all odds. Ultimately when our Poet Philospher, Dr. Allama Mohamed Iqbal, realised that there remains no Muslim leader of the calibre of Mohamed Ali, to lead them, he invited Mohamed Ali Jinnah to return from England to India to take the leadership of the Muslim community. The Khilafat Committee, though too weak to exert any influence, continued to exist till Shaukat Ali's death in 1938. It is a tribute to Shaukat Ali's sincerity that when Mohamed Ali Jinnah arrived on the scene he, with the spirit of his higher political standing, placed his services at the disposal of the future Quaid-i-Azam of the Indian Muslims, saying:

> "Mohamed Ali was younger than myself yet I accepted him as my ealder, and now to you, another Mohamed Ali I offer my services for the cause of Islam and the country."

Mr. Jinnah was invited to Khilafat House, Love Lane, Bombay, where the Khilafat and the Muslim League flags were hoisted together on the main gate of the building, called 'Bab-i-Omar'. Both the Flags had

White Crescent on them with red and green backgrounds respectively.

Khilafat and the Khalifas

Khilafat is the name of a Muslim institution or sovereign State inherited by the friends and followers of Prophet Muhammad, may peace be upon him and the Protectors, Supervisors or Rulers of which are called Khalifas (Caliphs). Hazrat Abu Bakr who succeeded the Prophet in the administration of the State assumed for himself the title of Khalifa-tul-Rasool Allah i. e. Viceregent of the Prophet of Allah. On his succession Hazrat Omar adopted the title of Khalifat Khalifa-tul-Rasool Allah, i. e. Viceregent to the Vicegerent of Rasool Allah. But later on when accidently a foreigner entered the mosque and enquired, "Where is the Ameer-ul-Momenin?" (Head of the Muslims) this title was so appreciated by all that Hazrat Omar assumed it for himself and it remained in use till 1924, the year when Mustafa Kemal of Turkey, abolished the very institution of Khilafat and Sultan Abdul Majid, the last Khalifa, was banished from the Turkish soil.

The Khilafat Committee after its inauguration in 1918 held its regular Annual Sessions till 1933 at the places noted below along with the names of those who presided over them. After the year 1933 no annual session was held and the organisation wholly and solely occupied itself with the activities of the All India Muslim

League. Yet even long before Shaukat Ali's death Khilafat Committee was the first political organisation which had outright purchased a beautiful building to accommodate its headquarters under the name of Khilafat House, and which is still standing in Love Lane, Bombay.

Place of Session	*Year*	*Name of President*
Delhi	1918	Hakim Ajmal Khan
Amritsar	1919	Shaukat Ali
Bombay	1920	Haji Jan Mohamed Chotani.
Bombay	1921	Haji Jan Mohamed Chotani
Ahmadabad	1921	Hakim Ajmal Khan
Gaya	1922	Dr. M. A. Ansari
Cocanada	1923	Shaukat Ali
Calcutta	1924	Mohamed Ali
Cawnpore	1925	Abul Kalam Azad
Delhi	1926	Syed Suleman Nadvi
Madras	1927	Shaffi Daudi
Calcutta	1928	Mohamed Ali
Lahore	1929	Nawab Ismail Khan
Bombay	1931	Abdulla Haroon
Ajmer	1932	Abdul Majid Sindhi
Bombay	1933	Syed Murtaza Bahadur.

Khilafat Delegation to Europe Proposed

Meanwhile during the national deliberations held at Amritsar in the year 1919 the Khilafat Conference

under the presidentship of Shaukat Ali decided to send a delegation to Europe headed by Mohamed Ali, to lodge Muslim grievances before the Home Government and also place before the British public the viewpoint and sentiments of the Indian Muslim community in connection with the Turkish affairs. Mohamed Ali had not enjoyed even one week of freedom, after remaining five years behind the bars, when he received instructions to proceed again to Europe. This was not an easy job to accept. However, high one holds one's national aspirations, one has also to give some consideration to the natural love for one's own family. And being human who would not have liked to spend a few days with his family under similar circumstances? But Mohamed Ali, who had dedicated his life to the national cause could not even think of shirking his national responsibilities. While submitting to the wishes of his community he expressed his feelings saying:

> "I must confess even my missionary zeal did not seem equal to the task of tearing myself from my family so soon after our restoration to freedom."

Grand Reception at Delhi

From Amritsar, the Brothers left for their political headquarters, Delhi, where a grand reception, unparalleled in the history of the city awaited them. A large boat-shaped stage was constructed near the Clock Tower in

the Chandni Chowk Bazar, bearing the bold letters "Azadi Ka Jahaz" (the ship of freedom), and on that very spot where the Viceroy, the Muslim Princes and even His Majesty the King of England had received addresses of welcome, the Ali Brothers were also destined to receive a similar honour. Dr. M. A. Ansari in praise of the Ali Brothers read a message from Hakim Ajmal Khan, who due to some unavoidable reasons could not attend the function in person. A formal address of welcome on behalf of the citizens was presented by Rai Bahadur Lala Shiv Parshad, C. I. E., and read by the famous divine Khawaja Hassan Nizami.

Hindu-Muslim Deputation Waits on Viceroy

At this time, the Turks were threatened with the disastrous provisions of the Turkish Treaty which was to finalise the armistice. It was feared that not only the Turkish Empire would cease to exist, but also the institution of Khilafat would share the same fate. This was fully known in India. Under these circumstances, an influential and representative joint deputation of Hindus and Muslims under the auspices of the All India Khilafat Conference headed by Shaukat Ali and including notable Muslim divines, merchants, princes, landlords and publicists waited on the Viceroy on January 6, 1920. The deputationists told the Viceroy frankly that the British policy towards Turkey constituted a great menace to the peace of Asia. They declared that it was the paramount duty of the British

Government to desist from acts calculated to inflame the sentiments of many millions of His Majesty's Muslim subjects living in the British Empire. The deputation further urged that no portion of *Jazira-tal-Arab* could by under any kind of non-Muslim control or reduced to the position of a subject state, because it contained the Holy Places of Islam and should therefore be immune from all alien and hostile interference. The deputation also intimated the Viceroy that the Mussalmans were going to send a representative delegation to England to intimate the Government and the people of England of the great discontent prevailing throughout the world over the untenable British policy towards Turkey.

The decision to send out a Khilafat delegation to England yielded initial result in the shape of a Viceregial notification on January 23, 1920, stating that His Majesty's Government had never pressed for the expulsion of Turks from Europe. Such a cause, it said, might not only prove grave results in the Near East, but might also lead to friction between France and Great Britain.

Delegation Leaves For England

Mohamed Ali hardly had a month's time to leave for Europe, and the whole period passed in preparation. He continuously kept on the move touring the country day and night, as he has himself described :

"Even the month that I spent in India after the release from Betul jail was mostly spent in travelling across the country, with barely three or four days spent at Rampur, and even while there the number of visitors that were received made us more or less completely strangers to the family circle itself. I learnt what baggage I was taking with me only when on board the ship my old servant, who had been my companion since childood and my school fellow for some time, gave me the keys of the boxes and a list of the things he had thought I would need in Europe, and it was startingly unpleasant to realise as I did on the receipt of my first letter in England from my daughters that I had not been able to have a single meal with 'my 'little suffragettes' even during the few days that I was at home." M.L.A.F. p. 192

Finally Mohamed Ali with three more members of the Delegation namely, Syed Suleman Nadvi, Dr. Syed Hussain and Malik Hassan Hayat, who was to act as the Secretary of the delegation, left Bombay in the beginning of February 1920, in an Austrian Lloyd steamer bound for Venice.

Delegation Welcomed on the Continent

The decision to send the delegation on behalf of the Khilafat Conference was welcomed by the Muslim residents in Great Britain and the Englishmen sympa-

thetic towards the Turks. A prominent writer Mr. G. Wyman Burry in his book, 'Pan-Islam' published on January 2, 1920, vehemently denounced British policy towards Turkey and warned Englishmen that they had to live together in amity with their Muslim fellow subjects. Let the Gospel be preached, he said, but attacks on the Islamic people were unmerited and impertinent. Nor did these efforts of the Khilafat Conference remain unnoticed on the Continent. Commenting on the worldwide Muslim concern over the fate of Turkey, *The Temps*, Paris, enthusiastically welcomed Near Eastern Approach to pacify the enraged feelings of nearly two hundred millions of Mussalman citizens of European Empires. France, said Mr. Melia, an ex-Chief of the Algerian Government Cabinet, had its future in Islam and it can never be a party to any scheme calculated to dismember Turkey. About the same time, Mr. Sadri Maqsoodoff, President of the National Muslim Council of European Russia and Siberia, gave expression to the feelings on behalf of Russian Muslims that the Musalmans in Asia were going to safeguard Muslim rights by sending out accredited spokesmen of Muslim opinion to the countries of the West.

At Venice

On January 31, 1920, the Islamic Information Bureau, London, a gigantic institution founded by His Highness the Agha Khan III and Mushir Ahmad Kidvai, and conducted by that valiant and militant Pan-Islamist

and Khilafatist, Abdur Rehman Siddiqi, who died in harness while actively serving as the Governor of East Pakistan, received a telegram from the Khilafat Conference, Bombay, disclosing the news that the delegation headed by Mohamed Ali was proceeding to the Continent. The news was widely published; when the delegation broke its journey at Venice, it witnessed scenes of delerious enthusiasm by a large number of Mussalmans from all over the Continent, who had come down to Venice to welcome the delegation. Tha Continental press gave wide publicity to Mohamed Ali's utterrances in the course of his voyage and during his overland journey to England, stressing the Muslims' resolve to see that the justice was done to Turkey.

On reaching Venice the delegation got the first chance to see the Continental papers after ending the voyage and learnt that the Peace Conference was preparing to settle the question of Turkey by annihilating the Ottoman Empire in a few day's time. Without wasting a single moment the delegation rushed to a telegraph office and despatched messages to all the allied Governments including special messages to the British Premier and the Secretary of State for India. This kept the members of the delegation working till 3 a. m. After having finished the job, they in spite of the railway strike in France managed and headed for London, and reached there just at the moment when the question of Constantinople was under fire in the House of Commons.

Official Reception at London

The delegation on arrival in London was officially received by Mr. Fisher, the Minister for Education, on behalf of Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India. Thousands of Muslim and Hindu students in England vociferously cheered it. In the course of the interview on arrival they expressed their determination to see that the Turks should not lose their independence, and Istambul was not deprived of the honour of being the seat of *Khilafat*. 'The Turks,' said Mohamed Ali, "should be judged before sentence was passed upon them," with this inclusive opening statement, the leader of the *Khilafat* delegetion laid stressed on the obstinate attitude of the British towards the Turks. He maintained that the Truks had been condemned absolutely unheard. This injustice to the Truks must be righted and they were there to see it was done. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi in the course of this interview during the delegates' reception by the Indians, refuted the statement that the *Khilafat* of *Islam* had ceased to exist in 1258 A.D. when the Tatars sacked Baghdad. It would be truer to say that Baghdad ceased to be the seat of *Khilafat* which had shifted to Egypt. It only showed that only its venue had been changed. Now that the *Sultan* of Trukey was the *Khilafat* of *Islam*, Istambul was the capital of the *Khilafat* Repulic. All, that the ***Mussalmans*** wanted, was that the Turks should have justice in the light of President Wilson's Fourteen Points and Mr.

*Lloyd George's speech in the House of Commons of January 6, 1918, by which he had pledged to maintain the sanctity and freedom of the homelands of **Islam** in Arabia and Trukey.*

On March 11, the delegation was received by Mr. Asquith and the interview lasted an hour and a half It was also received by the Liberal Party, and the Premier promised to see the delegations again in the course of the week. During his first two weeks in England Mohamed Ali did a Harculian job in granting daily interviews to scores of publicists and press representatives. He also visited the mosque at Woking on March 21, 1920, where he met a mixed Muslim congragation. In the course of the reception by Mr. Fisher on behalf of the Secretary of State for India at which Sir William Duke and Mr. Shuckburgh of the India Office in addition to Mr. Brown were also present. Mohamed Ali explained his case with consummate ability and tried to convince the representatives of the British Government of the justice of his case. In the week which followed the Asquith Ministry had given way to Lloyd George's Government. Mohamed Ali thus had another opportunity of meeting the new Head of the State, and in a long interview impressed upon him the importance of solving the Turkish problem in a statemanlike maner.

Mohamed Ali then rushed to France to attend a public meeting which was to be held on the 21st of

March, 1920, in Paris, in a forceful speech he explained that the delegation was deputed by the 70 millions Muslims of India and by the 250 millions of their compatriots of other faiths. Thanking for the sympathy they had shown to the delegation he added:

Muslims Message To France

> "We have comehere merely to ask you to spare us the one thing which to us is more then all territories, and that is the liberty of our conscience (cheers). We have come to you, the people of France to preserve us, and to help us in preserving the sanctity of our souls (cheers). This question which has brought us, is not merely a Turkish question. It is an Islamic Question, an Indian question, an Algerian question, and a Tunisian question. The *Khilafat* is the most essential institution of the Muslim community throughout the world. A vast majority of the Muslims of the world recognise the Sultan of Turkey to be the Commander of the faithful, and the Successor and *Khalifa* of their Prophet."

Stressing the need that the *Khalifa* should have temporal powers so that in case, liberty of conscience of the Muslims in any part was in jeopardy, he should at least be able to say to the aggressor, "you shall not do that with impunity." Further, explaining the significance of *Jazira-tal-Arab* he said,

" .... an explaining which it may be somewhat difficult for you to under-state. '*Jazira*' in the Arabian language means an island; the sacred region which is the local centre of our Faith, is and has always been to us an island, though to European geographers, Arabia is not an island but a peninsula."

And then describing the boundries of *Jazira - tul - Arab* he alucidated.

"... ...if in the hour of your triumph achieved with the assistance of Indian soldiers, of Muslim soldiers, if you say to those who were your partners in war: 'You shall not be our partners in peace: you made the war you saved the war, but today you shall not make the peace and the kind of peace we like,' then ladies and gentlemen, it is my painful duty to tell you, and I tell you, on behalf of 300 million people, of whose feelings today you have no conception, that these people will unite to a man and unite to a woman and will not tolerate such a peace (Loud cheers.)"

Mohamed Ali ended his speech with the following:

"There was a time when the French went out to the East in the hope of conquering India. But it was destined for another power to conquer India, if India can be said to have been realy conquered.

But today you have an opportunity to conquer not the land but the hearts of India, and, I say to you, *Vive La France*.

Meeting At Essex Hall, London, Critics Answered

On return from Paris the Delegation had to attend a croweded meeting held at Essex Hall, London, where in addition to the delegates several other prominent personalities such as, Dr. Abdul Majid of the Islamic Society, Mr. Parikh of the British Congress Committee, Mr. Harniman of *Bombay Chronicle*, Mrs. Sarojni Naidu, generally known as nightingale of India Dr. Leland Buxton and Mr. Qadir Bhai also Mr. Marmaduke Pickthal, the welknown jouralist and author presided. The meeting unanimously passed resolutions protesting against the British policy towards Turkey and the occupation of Istanbol by British forces; The proceedings of the meeting were widely reported in British press. Mohamed Ali introducing the delegation said,

"I will tell you who we are and whom we represent We have been sent to this country by the All India Khilafat Conference, the largest and the most reprentative national body of recent time. The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League are large and important political parties, but the body we represent is larger and more comprehesive than these. Twenty thousend Hindus

and Muslims attended the third session of the All India Khilafat Conference that had sent this delegation, and its proceedings lasted from 5 o'clock in the evening to two next morning, and I have never in my experience of Indian meetings see anything like the enthusiasm that marked these proceedings.........It is the people who have sent us here and not an unrepresentative officialdom. As to our antecedents, some of us have certainly suffered imprisonment without any kind of trial at all, but merely on the *letters de cachets* of the executive, for purely religious activities, and, indeed, in India the law has been so administered that the best of men have been forced to regard imprisonment as an honour. Need I appeal in your country to your past History? Have not the Pyms and Hampdens of England suffered to secure the liberties of which Englishmen are so proud? I ask you Englishmen and Englishwomen not to deprive us also of the right to be heard on behalf of our people merely because your representatives in India deprived us of our liberties."

Speeches p-166.

When it was asked as to why the Indian Muslims were so disturbed for the cause of the Turks who were not politically or racially connected with them, Mohamed Ali answered:

"We are sometimes asked why it is that we who

are not Turk have had no political or racial association with them, have come all this way to interest ourselves in the Turkish Settlement. But this is not going to be merely as Turkish Settlement. We hold no brief for the Turks but are the advocates of Indian claims. We speak not for the Turks but speak for ourselves. And here I must explain the nature and scope of Islam which makes this not a Turkish but an Islamic question. Islam does not recognise geographical and racial barriers such as the nationalism of modern Europe has set up in the way of the freest human intercourse and the widest human sympathies. In a word, is not national but supranational. We do not worship in the shrines of a nationalism that has for its creed, 'My country, right or worng (Cheers). And one would have thought that after this horrible war, in which human ingenuity was taxed to its further capicity to divise means, not for the preservation but forthe destruction of mankind, a war that was clearly the only logical conclusion of the cult of nationalism, it was time Europe ceased to worship this Moloch of Modern Nationalism, To the Muslim the Turk is not only a man, but a brother, and that not because he shares with us a common domicile or common parentage—things that can and do distriguish breeds of dogs and horses from other breeds but because he shares with us a common outlook of life and common

> institutions and laws that materialise that outlook and perpetuate the culture of Islam (cheers.) ......I am no 'apologist' for Islam. There is nothing to 'apologise, for, and if we attempt and 'apology for Islam' we lose the entire case at once. If you will permit me the use of the pharase in a friendly way, far from apologising for Islam we have to carry the war 'into the enemy's own country.' But what a war? Not a war of poision gas, or Deadnoughts or Tanks or Hawitzers, but a war of reason, or persuasions, of influencing you with whatever we have of nobility and goodness and charity, for the Quran lays it down clearly and emphatically that 'There is no compulsion of faith' ... ..Islam is not a bundle of dogmas and doctrines that the theologians plague humanity with. It is a complete scheme of life, a perfect code of right conduct and a comprehenisive social polity as wide as the human race and in fact as wide as the entire creation."

Describing the duties of a Muslim and the prevailing situation of that time he went on to say:

> "If force ceased to be used in settling the affairs of mankind the Muslim would be the first to surrender his arms, and turn his sword and scimitar into a ploughshare. But, what do we see today? Viscount Bryce 4 wants the Allies to use

the argument of the 'Big Stick' against the *Khilafat*. It is true that he says Orientals can understand no other argument. Now could that object being, a mere Oriental, ask his Lordship what other argument he thinks the Oriental understand? We shall say nothing about the Allies, and we are on less dangerous ground if we refer to Germons and Austrians and Bolsheviks. Are these not of the West Western, and what argument other than that of the 'Big Stick' did they understand? Is Germany converted to the pursuit of peace by His Lordship's eloquence, or by the 'Bigger Stick' of the Allies. Well so long as there are your Bryces and your 'Big Sticks' we too, must have some sort of a stick for the defence of our faith, and to jeopardise at least the dominance of those that jeopardise the freedom of our conscience."

Replying to the charges of barbarism of the Turks and the alleged massacres by their swords, Mohamed Ali refuted thus:

"But even if the Turk is guilty of shedding innocent blood, is he the only criminal? What of the massacres in the Oasis Tripoli? What of the masssacres in the Balkans? What of the recent massacres in Smyrna? And, what, if charity begins at home, of the massacres at Amritsar and the

other Punjab Atrocities? The Arab blood that soaked the Tripoli sand and the Turkish bones still bleaching on the Balkan hill-tops are crying in vain for vengeance. And yet Italy retains Tripoli, the Balkan Allies retain Macedonia, and M. Venizelos and his gallant Greeks are to be made masters of the richest Turkish province of Smyrna, while the Punjab is denied even self-government, and yet the Turks is to have his Empire dismembered because, forsooth, the consc-ince of Europe and Christendom revolts at massacres. (Cheers)"

And when Colonal Wedgood Benn, a prominent member of the House of Commons posed a question: What can the Delegation threaten with? prompt was the reply by Mohamed Ali:

"It is clear that we cannot threaten you with power engines of war, but we can threaten you and do threaten you with the might of truth and with a weapon that no shield can resist, with an unconguerable will not to yield to injustice and iniquity; with the will, in the last resort, to die. (cheers.) I have the British nation through this *audience. To His Majesty the King Emperor, too, I have* a message to deliver through you. And it is in this form of a question: Can he any longer rely on the allegiance of his Indian and Muslim subjects if they betray the allegiance they

> owe to a higher King, the King of Kings? (cheers) And would he like to rule over a nation of slaves and cowards such as we would be if we submitted to the kind of peace that is about to be concluded or to rule over men and women who honoured their conscience as their King and brought to his august Throne the unbought submission of a free nation? (cheers)

In reply to a remark in the form of an advice that the Allies and the Supreme Council would help the Turks and the Arabs would enjoy full freedom, Mohamed Ali promptly said:

> "You cannot expect us to believe that the Supreme Council and the Allies love the Arabs as much as we do......But it is not a question of Arab or Turk. It is a question of Islam-and-Islam is dearer to us than Arab or Turk, as it must be to Arabs and Turks themselves. This question of Arab autonomy can well be left to Muslims themselves to settle, and I foresee no great difficulty in the realisation of our dream of a federation that will give the Arab all the freedom. He needs or demands. The same afternoon the Viscount Bryce was brandishing his 'Big Stick' in the House of Lords, another noble lord, Lord Sydenham, wanted to know why the Montenegrins were being placed under Serbian rule, and he was assured by yet

another noble lord, Lord Curzon, that it was to the interest of the Montenegrins to be part and parcel of a largar unit, the Yugo-Slavs, than cut themsalves adrift, or, rather retain their original indedpendence. Now, why was the Arab being asked to cut himself adrift from the Ottoman Empire if not to be swallowed up as so many Eastern Kingdoms had in recent times been swallowed up? The fact is, the temporal power of Islam could not be swallowed up in one bite, and it was proposed to swallow it up in two, the Turk today and the Arab tomorrow."

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On March 26, 1920, Mohamed Ali asked for the delegation to be received by the Supereme Council of peace then meeting in Paris. The request was refused by the British Premier and it drew from the delegation a heated protest against Lloyd George's attitude that he had rejected delegations suggestion even though the representatives of Armenia and Assyria had been received and given hearing by the Supreme Council. Mohamed Ali also referred to the case of Mr. Venizelos who had been frequently receeived by Lloyd George.

Meeting At Kingsway Hall, London

Following two hectic weeks in England the Khilafat Delegation again visited Paris, on April 13, 1920, to see M. Millerand, the French Premier, who deputed M. Rebel his Chief de Cabinet to see

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★ **Lloyd George's Deaf Ears**

Mohamed Ali. He also gave interview to M. Rock a former Minister and M, Melia of the Algerian Government. The delegation had an excellent press in Paris and returned to London on the 21st of April to address a public meeting to be held at the Kingsway Hall, on the 22nd of April, under the presidentship of the famous labour leader, M. George Lansbury. The meeting was a great success and lasted till late in the night. Mohamed Ali delivered a lengthy speech which was so forceful and in such a humorous strain that practically afetr every sentence from his mouth brought thunderous cheers and applause. Discussing the resolution under debate he seid:

"I am glad that in the resolution the word 'citizen' is used. To tell you the truth, I have been quite content to call myself a subject (Mr. Lansbury and the audience: No, a citizen). However, I present the case today from the eminence of British citizenship, which I can only feel just a little bit when I am, here, and not at all in my own country, where I can be interned or imprisoned without charge or trial, and nobody any the wisher, and where it is rather difficult for me to remember that I am as such a citizen as Mr. Lansbury (Laughter and cheers). For if he is sent to prison, for which I am sure he has qualified himself (loud laughter) the people would soon known the reason why by a few questions asked in the House of Commons.

one of our friends here (Colonol Wedgwood) would probably have an all night sitting-and even if the House of Commons proved as impotent as it sometimes is in these democratic days of Coalitions and Coupons-(laughter).

Replying to the advice tendered by some English newspapers that the Indian Muslims must not dictate the foreign policy of the British Government, Mohamed Ali said :

"......in our wildest dreams it certainly did not occur to us to dictate foreign policy of the British Goverument. I wish we could even dictate the internal policy of Government in connectiou with India (laughter). If this is an Empire, (I should like to call it a Commonwealth) in which we are equal partners, as we are very often told we are, and it was certainly demanded from us to be equal partners when sacrifices had got to be made and at that time we in India neitherstinted money nor men-well, then, when the war is over, when the captains and the kings have departed-particularly the kings, for only one or two are now left (laughter)-when poor common people, no better than as Indians and people of that sort, very common people, not autocrats and aristocrates, but mere democrates, have assembled to make peace (laughter) then I want to know what position, I whose

people have given their men and money, have in the making of the peace, (cheers). If you, ladies and gentlemen, who are of British birth and Christian faith, do not like your policy to be dictated to you by black heathens of the East, then I say we also do not want the foreign policy of *our* Empire to be dictated to us by a tniy fraction of fortyfive millions of people of British birth and Christian faith. (Cheers.)

Referring to the ignorace of the British high-ups regarding the Muslims' sentiments, Mohamed Ali added:

"If such is the ignorance of Mr. Asquith with regard to the fundamental doctrines of Islam, even after having been enlightened by our delegation, then is it not a shame and a disgrace to one who has once been, and apparently still dreams to being once more, the Prime Minister of the Imperial Government of Great Britain, (laughter) ......Mr. Asquith said no doubt humorously, that in these days even if a *Khalifa* goes to war he cannot hope to go to war with limited liabilities. Well I will say this to him, that even in this twentieth century we are a very backward people in India, and if you will go to war with the *Khalifa* in order to oust him from the seat of the *Khilafat*, if you go to war with him in order to dismember his Empire. and if you go to war with him in order to step into the sanctuaries of our

> faith, because there is oil in Mosul, if you go to war with him because the sanctity of the Holy Land of Islam must be violated by exploiters demanding a mandate in Mesopotamia, no doubt in the sacred name of Salf-Determination spelt with three letters, O-I-L (Laughter) then even in these days you will have to go to war. I am afraid, with very limited assets indeed. (Loud cheers).

Then, referring to the non-violent movement in India, suspension of business as a protest on occasion without any violence and pêaceful demonstrations and constitutional fight, he said:

> "We have known people in India who are agents of violence, because if violence is provoked, in its early stages it might be crushed, and that might be used as an argument for 'not making concessions to rebels.' That is the old vicious circle in which people who want to keep power in their own hands try that the world should move. Oppression provokes disturbances and disturbances are used for prepetuating oppression and refusing reforms. After reading a good deal of History of England at Oxford. I am not quite sure that three quarters of your constitution is not based on force or a show of force in the background. When King John gave the Magna Carta to the people of England, the great charter of your

liberties. and I hope of our too, in spite of some recent decisions of the privy Council (cheers) he did not do it absolutaly out of love for the British people (laughter). Still less, when King Charles forfeited his head, he did not sign his death warrant because he thought the best thing for him to do was to leave the world (laughter). The same sort of thing may be said of the conditions which prevailed in the days of King Charles the Second, who did not want to go on his travels again, and of James the Second who did apprently want to go (laughter). In all these reforms, one after another, you always find this, that the people's liberties had to be either purchased when kings were in need of money for their wars or their armous (laughter) or there was force, or show of force, in the background."

The principle of Self-Determination was exploited by the British and it was repeatedly said why the Arab should not enjoy the same. Mohamed Ali explaining the said priniciple slashed as under:

"......and now that we have seen some applications of this principle, we find that it has about as many interpretations, as love or religition (lauhter). There is one interpretation when the principle is applied to Ireland; and this you are all well informed, and I shall not waste your time. There is another interpretation of self-

determination for Montenegro, when it is assured it is not good to be a cock's head when you can be a bull's tail (laughter). In spite of Montanegro's desire for independence, she is assured that it is better in her own interest to be a part of a larger unit. When we ask that the Arabs should not be forced to get out of the larger unit we are told by Mr. Lloyd George. 'It the sacred principle of self-determination not to be applied to an Arab simply because he is a Muslim? But surely the last interpretation of self-determination is the best of all. We never knew that large mouthful of a word, seld-determination, could be spelt with three letters, O-I-L. (laughter) This is the latest interpretation of self-determination."

Of people in England of talking so much of Armenian massacres by the Turks, Mohamed Ali suggested:

"Have an International Commission. Allow the Muslims of India and Hindus to be represented on that Commission, and go into the whole question of massacres before the war, and now. If the Turks are found guilty they should be punished. But if they are to be punished, equally punishment should be meted to those who caused the sand of Tripoli to be soaked with Arab blood (cheers). We demand that in the Balkan-the bones of Turks are still bleaching today on Balkan heights (cheers). We demand that the pecple who

butchered women and children there is cold blood after unnameable outrages, should be punished..... And we Indians have a right to demand that not only should it be the Italians and the Bulgarians, and the Greeks, but even the British, the O'Dwyers and the Dyers who have dyed their hands with gore (shame) and fired on innocent assembled for lawful purposes (shame), on April 13, last year, we demand that they too should be punished."

★ On the 29th of April Mohamed Ali visited Edinburgh aud spent a busy day with Indian students and press representatives and finished off by addressing well-attended public meeting held at Odd Fellows' Hall, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Maxton, at which numerous questions were put and answered.

On the 30th Mohamed Ali addressed a public meeting at Millton Hall Manchester. There were many anti-Turks, Greeks and Armenians, who tried to heckle the speakers, but they were so far won over as to offer to meet the Delegation for further informal and friendly discussions.

On the May Day rally of the workers of Britian, Britishers in hundreds and thousands thronged and filled the whole of Hyde Park, London, where along with other Labour leaders Mohamed Ali also spoke and kept the entire concourse enraptured with his eloquent espousal of the *Khilafat* and Muslim cause, he was given

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★ **Further Whirlwind Activities**

the opportunity to speak to his heart's content, at this memorable occasion, and was accorded a tumultuous and thunderous welcome by the audience. His speech was promptly reproduced as an article in the 'Labour Leader', which was the official publication of the British Labour Party.

On the same 1st of May. the delegation members were guest of honour at a dinner party given by the Muslim Association, Cambridge University. At the conclusion of the dinner Professor Edward G. Browne, Mr. Horniman, and Mrs. Sarojni Naidu in addition to Mohamed Ali spoke on the mission of the delegation.

On the 2nd of May, Mohamed Ali addressed a meeting of the Muslim Association at the Red Lion Hotel, Cambridge. In the discussion which followed Mohamed Ali's address Dr. Abdul Hameed of Magdolene College, Mr. I. Rahim of Pambroks, Mrs. Sarojni Naidu and Miss Normanton took part. At this meeting Mrs. Naidu, one of the speakers, gave expression to her feelings in the following impressive wo.ds:

> "The Hindus of India," she said, "would stand by Islam to death. They have no separate destiny. They believe that Islam was the religion of humanity, of enquality and of democracy. Because Islam was the most democratic religion, it would endure, Islam cannot die. Islam hed always been true to its sincere followers. Genera-

tion of Muslims had been faithless to it, generations had betrayed their heritage yet Islam endured unchanging, because *it was the most ardent* exponent of quality and democracy. Islam had the highest human code of ethics that the world has ever seen and if they stood by their faith they would triupmh gloriously. (Cambridge Daily News 3.5. 1920).

Pact of St. Remo Signed

About this time the pact of St. Remo was signed by which tne Allied had decided:

1. Palestine shall become the National Home of the Jews.

2. Mesopotamia and Palestine to be British mandate and Syria a French mandate.

3. Smyrna and Thrace to be given to Greece.
4. Adalia to be Italian.
5. Cilicia to be French.
6. Batum to be garrisoned by the British.
7. Dedea Gatch to be given to Bulgaria.
8. Instaboul and Gallipoli to be under Allien administration.

9. Recognition of British annexation of Cyprus and the British protectorate over Egypt.

10. Armenia to be independent.

In other words, Turkey was to be reduced to a little back garden between the Bosphorus and the Lines of Chatalja.

Draft of Turkish Peace Treaty Published

The Remo Pact announcement was followed by heated protests from all over the Muslim world and Mahamed Ali appealed for permission to proceed to Turkey to study the situation on the spot and to take medical relief for the suffering Turks. Permission was refused. In the same week the Draft of the Turkish Peace Treaty was published and was followed by a countrywide boycott of British goods in India, the wellknown *Hijrat* Movement started and thousands of Mulims left their hearths and homes in the Indian territory. Mohamed Ali remained very busy during these days in England and the Continent. He granted interviews, wrote voluminously and addressed several meetings. He paid another visit to Paris and addressed a crowded cosmopolitan meeting at the Hall of the Hotel de Societe des Sanvantes, in which besides Frenchmen, there were present representative Muslims from Algeria, Morocco, Tunis, Egypt, Arabia, Turkey, China, Russia, etc. Following Mohamed Ali, M. Jean Longuet, Editor of Populaire; M. Marcel Cachine, Deputy for Paris also spoke. The meeting unanemously passad a resolution demanding abrogation of the Draft Turkish Treaty and fulfilment of Allies, war promises towards Turkey and the *Mussalmans*.

**Denunciation of the Turkish Treaty—
Meeting at Scarborough**

When Mr. Lloyd George flatly refused to give a fair hearing to the delegation, Mohamed Ali, in sheer desperation was driven to seek more sympathy and support of the British Labour Party. Accordingly he approached Mr. Ramsey Macdonald, with whom he had intimacy since long, for permission to address the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Labour Party, which was to be held at Scarborough from the 22nd to the 25th of June 1920. To the dismay and the disappointment of Mohamed Ali, Mr. Macdonald, displayed unfair and unfriendly attitude, refused to cooperate with him in securing a little time for addressing the meeting, and put forward lame excuses. Mohamed Ali, however, persisted in his efforts and succeeded in enlisting the unstinted support of more honest and influential Labour leaders, including that venerable veteran of class struggle, Mr. George Lansbury, who apart from his multifarious social and political activities was also the Editor of the Daily Herald, a leading and noted newspaper of historical importance as with his help Mohamed Ali was allotted five minutes to address the Scarborough gathering on July 2, 1920.

In the course of his speech Mohamed Ali, while thanking the Chairman and the Committee and the distinguished labour leaders who had interceded, play-

fully marked that he represented the case of a nation numbering 315 millions and had come 7000 miles land and sea to represent it and it was an intersting problem, which would probably take more than the allotted five minutes to resolve what fraction of a second per mile the delegation had succeeded in getting allotted to it even by the Labour Party. This pointed thrust went home and the 1200 Labour delegates representing several millions of organised workmen during Mohamed Ali's speech several times shouted 'Gon on,' 'Let him go on,' when the Chairman's bell announced the time was up. The result was that he spoke for fifteen instead of the allotted five minutes. During his speech Mohamed Ali said:

"The world was weary of war, even England was weary of war, at least British labour was weary of war (cheers). Yet the world was being rushed to another war that would be more bitter and much longer and more widespread than the last war, because it would be a war of creeds and consciences. In a few day's time the issue of peace or war would be decided one way or the other. If Labour desired peace it should speak out now, (cheers). All sorts of appeals were made for Russia, Germany, Hungary, appeals for commercial intercourse, continuance of existence as independent Powers, relief of starving children, but had Labour raised that Turkey needed all these just as much as any other power?"

THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

Towards the end of his speech Mohamed Ali said:

> "Well, I am here to tell you that if Muslim religious requirements are not respected, if Indian sentiment flouted, if the pledges deliberately given, are repeatedly disregarded, and Muslim majorities are placed under Christian minorities, Greek or Armenian, even if it is probably false today it will be probably true tomorrow (Loud cheers)."

The report adds:

> "It was not to make an appeal to Labour that he had come, but to convey his warning, although he came as a friend to Labour and wanted to give this warning in the friendliest possible manner (cheers)."

Asking the Labour to press for an impartial interna tional enquiry with Indian people fully represented on it the Press report added:

> "The Turks' case was not popular in England at the present moment, but in defending the Turk before a Labour audiance he had his consoation, that he could say Labour's case itself was none too popular' (laughter). Behind the recent bitterness against the Turk arising out of the war were ancient prejudices centuries old, but not older than the prejudice against Labour itself

(cheers). The same class often abuse the Turk as abused Labour and it was some satisfaction to him that centuries ago when the Turk first became unspeakable they, the Labourities, were villains (Loud laughter)......His case was that the Turkish Treaty outraged the Muslim conscience, disregarded the principles of justice and humanity and particularly the principle of self-determination and violation of pledges deliberately and repeatedly given to the Muslims of India.....Witness the fact that the Indian delegation, not one member of which had any drop of Turkish blood in his veins or had ever been to Turkey or knew one word of the Turkish language, had travelled 7000 miles to demand a just and equitable Turkish settlement (cheers). He represented a faith intolerant to narrow nationalism (cheers). His was a faith that was supranational (cheers). It had no church, no clergy (cheers). It refused to be a religion only for Sundays and Sabbaths for churches, temples and synagogues (Cheers). It was a work-a-day faith (cheers) and as such meant for the market place as for the Mosque (cheers). That is why it still retained its grip upon the masses (cheers). It recognised wage-earners as a friend of God (cheers) and regarded poverty as a matter of pride (Cheers).

The report further adds:

"One speaker had said they had been fooled by

> the Government in the last War but they were not going to be made fools for the second time, but said Mohamed Ali, amidst (cheers), he was not sure of that as things stood at present. Government knew a thing or two in the art of fooling people and could always make fools of them in spite of themselves (cheers), but he would like to warn them.

If the Allies would go to the succour of vanquished Greece as they were bound to do to prevent a reversal of the result of the war of Greek liberation, as the Allies Governments would say, they would have to conscript Allied soldier and get money from the pockets of Allied tax-payers (Cheers). It could not be done this time at the cost of Indian money. Already they had heard the Indian troops refused to fight in Persia (cheers)......

> "Well," said Mohamed Ali, "I am here to tell you that if Muslim religious requirements are not respected, if Indian sentiment is flouted, if the pledges delibrately given are repeatedly disregaded, and Muslim majorities are placed under Christian minorities, Greek or Armenian, even if it is probably false today it will be brobably true tomorrow (Loud Cheers)." It was not to make an appeal to Labour that he had come but to convey his warning although he came as a friend to Labour and wanted to give them warning in the friendliest possible manner (Cheers.)

Audience With The Pope.

Before leaving England for India, Mohamed Ali paid a visit to Rome and had the honour of being granted an audience by His Holiness the Pope at Veti-ean. There, it is reported, arose a difficulty in observ-ing the custom or ettequette prevailing for centuries that all those, big or small, king or commaners, kneel before His Holiness the Pope when he granted an audience, But when Mohamed Ali was instructed to do so, he hestitated for a moment, and as a Muslim refused to kneel before anybody except Allah the Almighty. It became a problem, as neither he could kneel nor could he refuse the honour granted to him, at a time when he had been there to gain sympathy and support for the Turkish cause. However, when His Holiness was informed of Mohamed Ali's religious principles and obligations, the Pope so kindly waving all formalities received him with open arms, shook hands with him and even issued a statement sympathis-ing with the Mulims' cause. On his way to Rome Mohamed Ali also visited Amir Faisal near Lake Como (Italy) and had a brief talk with him regarding the Turkish-Arab affairs.

Delegation Leaves for India

On September 2, the *Khilafat* Delegation left the shores of England. While doing so he struck a note of warning saying:

> "The days of Empires are over, but the British Commonwealth can survive if it is broad-based on peoples' will. History of Ireland is before us. What would have satisfied Ireland seven or even three years ago does not satisfy her today. Mussalmans can yet be won over. Tomorrow it would be too late in their case as well."

In summing up *Khilafat* Delegation work in England, *The Muslim Outlook*. London, dated September 2, 1920, (published under the able Editorship of Abdul Qayum Malik, B. A. (Alig.) Bar-at-law,) observed as follows

> "The Indian *Khilafat* delegation, after having spent a period of strenuous six months in Europe, leaves today for India."

It would be premature to hazard an opinion as to the result of the Mission for which it bore its mandate. Judging from the general atmosphere of intelligent interest in the problems of Turkey that its presence under the intrepid leadership of Maulana Mohamed Ali had tended to creat in responsible political circles here and elsewhere, we have no hesitation in saying that it has achieved far more than our expectations. The delegation arrived at a time when dark and sinister clouds of hatred and deep-rooted prejudice against the unfortunate Turks and their country were gathering thick and fast. After the consummation of a Turkish defeat in the battlefields of Syria and Palistine, a crusade

for more dangerous and mischieveous than the last was being carried on in the Press, and in the pulpits and on the platforms of this country. There was no insult, no opprobrium, that was considered too strong for the only 'clean fighters' in the Great war. By public demonstrations and speeches, by the distribution of healthy and well-informed literature, and by the use of all active means of persuation, the delegation, backed up by a rising tide of strong public opinion in India, succeeded atleast in inspiring the mind of the British Cabinet with a reasonable attitude towards their gentlemenly foe. The Turk was allowed to remain in Constantinople The extremely hostile voice of the dignitaries of the Christian Church raised for the reclamation of the Mosque of St. Sophia was silenced and a feeling of appreciation of what India had done in fighting Britain's battles was aroused.

In France the delegation was in touch with the head of the Republican Government and tried with devoted energy to imbue French Statement and publicist with the conscieneeness of their responsibility towards millions of their Muslim fellowcitizens who had fallen in their tens of thousands for their cause. At Rome Maulana Mohamed Ali succeeded in interviewing His Holiness the Pope whose candid and dispassionate opinion of Turkish broad mindedness and tolerance will live in History. These briefly are some of the things achieved by the delegation during its sojourn in Europe. But seen in

the light of the provisions of the 'Turkish Treaty' we have to confess that a vast amount of work has yet to be accomplished before we could rejoice over a full and complete vendication of the Islamic cause. Fortunately the healthy and determind stand that is being taken by Muslims and their non-Muslim countrymen in India inspires us with a strong hope that the wrongs inflicted on the sacred ideals of many millions of His Majesty's subjects may yet be redressed. From our experience of current European History, we have every reason to be assured that given a courageous, out-spoken, and unqualified interpretation of the difficult situation now obtaining in India and Islamic countries, responsible statemen in this country and elsewhere will not hesitate to yield to reason* Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Late Governor of East Pakistan, praises the services rendered by Mohamed Ali as follows:

> "Presidentship of the League, the *Khilafat* Conference and the Congress came one after another but his leadership of the *Khilafat* delegation to London was one of the most outstanding contributions of Mohamed Ali to the Islamic cause. Not in London alone but in Paris, in Rome, in the Vatican and in Turkey he carried the flaming torch of his enthusiasm and faith with everincreasing effulgence." Speeches p-xxi.

* By coutesy of Late Z A. Burni

Religion In Politics

Mohamed Ali never divorced religion from politics, and used to introduce religion whenever he found an occasion to do so. His tour of Continent could have not been an exception as he himself describes as under:

> "It is not posible for me to judge what religious effects our propaganda produced on our audiances but I cannot help recalling the pleasureable sensation I experienced at discovering that a most representative gathering of organised Labour at the Annual Convention at Scarborough, was not half as averse to hearing about my religion as I had been warned by friends that I would find such an irreligious body as Labour to be. The five minutes that the Committee had finally, and after several unsuccessful efforts on my part, allotted to me owing to a very crowded programme previously fixed upon which the Convention had anyhow to get through, had expended into something like twenty, and when the Chairman found the audiance so eager to be chaffed on its reputed irreligiousness by a pagan evangelist as to protest more than once again the Presidential bell that sounded the summons to resumption of silence. And in France too, where the laic law has its fanatics that are as intolerant of all religions as the Inquisitor of Spain were heresy and heretics, every fresh meeting that we held

attracted a larger audiance than the one before it, though unlike the public meetings in England these were open only to those who had been invited or had procured invitation cards from the organisers. Perhaps nothing was so indicative of an awakened interest in an exposition of *Islam* as the compliment paid us by that well-known Senator and Publicist M. Victor Bernard, by entering the lists as a doughty combatant."

The *Khilafat* and the *Khalifas.*

Khilafat is the name of a Muslim institution or Sovereigning inherited by the friends and followers of the Prophet Muhammad, peace be on him, as the Protectors, supervisors or Rulers who were called *Khalifas* (Caliphs by the foreigners.) They enjoyed absolute authority in all temporal and religious matters.

Abu Bakr who succeeded the Prophet in the administration of the nation assumed for himself the title of *Khalifat-tul-Rasul Allah* i. e. Vicegerent of the prophet of *Allah.* On his succession Omer adopted the title of *Khulifa-i-Khalifa-tul-Rasul Allah* i. e. Vicegerent to the Vicegerent of *Rasul Allah.* But later on when accidently a foreigner entered the Mosque, and enquired "Where is the *Amir-ul-Momenin*' (Head of the Muslims) the title was so much appreciated by all that Omer assumed it for himself and it remained currently in use till 1924, the day on which Mustafa Kemal abolishing

the very institution of *Khilafat* and had banished from the Turkish soil, *Sultan* Abdul Majid, the last *Khalifa* of the House of Osman.

To keep the said institution of *Khilafat* alive and to save it as a pivot point, central authority or Power for the Muslims scattered all over the world, the Muslims in India had been struggling hard to achieve independence from the clutches of the Britishers but having failed to win the War of Independence 1857 remained under foreign subjugation. However, they did not give up and rose once again in the form of *Khilafat* Movement under the able leadership of the Ali Brothers, Abul Kalam Azad, Hasrat Mohani, Ajmal Khan and others. After the first Great War Mustafa Kamal saved Turkey from total ruination though he killed the very institution of *Khilafat* it self; but, in spite of that the *Khilafat* Movement remained on its march and successfully paved the way for India's independence and establishment of Pakistan though the ulterior motive has still to be achieved.

Following is the list showing names of *Khalifas* who headed the *Khilafat* institution right from 632 A. D. to 1924 A. D. i. e. the day of its rise and its abolition:

Abu Bakr	632 – 634 A. D.
Omer	634 – 644 A. D.
Osman	644 – 656 A. D.
Ali	656 – 661 A. D.

The Ommayyads 661 - 750 A. D.

Muawiya I	661	—	680
Yazid I	680	—	683
Marwan I	684	—	685
Abdul Malik	685	—	705
Walid I	705	—	715
Sulaiman	715	—	717
Omar II	717	—	720
Yazid II	720	—	724
Heysham	724	—	743
Walid II	743	—	744
Yazid III	744	—	745
Ibrahim	745	—	745
Merwan II	745	—	750

The Abbasids 750 - 1258 A. D.

Abul Abbas	750	—	754
Abu Jafar Al-Mansur	754	—	755
Mahdi	775	—	785
Hadi	785	—	786
Harun-al-Rashid	786	—	809
Amin	809	—	813
Abdullah-al-Mamun	813	—	833
Mutasim Billah	833	—	842
Wasiq	842	—	847
Mutawakkil	847	—	861
Muntasir Billah	861	—	862
Mustain Billah	862	—	866

Mutazz Billah	866 – 869
Muhtadi Billah	869 – 870
Mutamid Billah	870 – 892
Mutazid Billah	892 – 902
Muktafi Billah	902 – 907
Muqtadir	907 – 932
Qahir	932 – 934
Razi	934 – 940
Muttaqi	940 – 944
Mustakfi	944 – 946
Muti	946 – 973
Taya	974 – 991
Qadir	991 – 1031
Qaim	1031 – 1075
Muqtadi	1075 – 1095
Mustayahir	1095 – 1118
Mustarashid	1118 – 1134
Rashid	1134 – 1135
Muktafi	1135 – 1160
Mustanjid	1160 – 1170
Mustadi	1170 – 1180
Nasir	1180 – 1225
Zahir	1225 – 1226
Mustansir	1226 – 1242
Mustasim	1242 – 1258

Abbasids (Egypt)

Mumtasir	1258 – 1262
Hakam	1262 – 1301

Mustaqfi	1301 – 1339
Wasiq	1339 – 1341
Hakam	1341 – 1352
Moatazid	1352 – 1361
Mutawakal	1361 – 1383
Wasiq	I383 – 1401
Musta'ain	*1401 – 1412*
Mustazi	*1412 – 1441*
Mustanzi	1441 – 1450
Qaem	1450 – 1454
Mustanjad	*1454 – 1479*
Mutawakal	*1479 – 1497*
Mustansak	1497 – 1506
Mutawakal	1506 – 1517

Turks House of Osman 1517 - 1924 A. D.

Salim I*	1517 – 1520
Sulaiman	1520 – 1566
Salim II	1566 – 1574
Murad III	1574 – 1595
Mohammad III	1595 – 1603

* *Sultan* Salem I who ascended the thron in 1512 A. D, was the first Turkish *Sultan* who entered Cairo in 1517 A. D. wrested the *Khilafat* from the last of the Abbasid *Caliphs*. Prior to Salem I the following nine Turks of the House of Osman had remained in power from 1288 to 1512 A- D.

Osman	1288 — 1326	Mohammad I	1413 — 1421
Orkhan	1326 — 1359	Murad II	1421 — 1451
Murad I	1359 — 1389	Muhammad II	1451 1481
Bayezid I	1389 — 1403	Bayazid	1481 — 1512
Suleman	1403 — 1413		

Ahmad I	1603 – 1617
Mustafa	1617 – 1618
Osman II	1618 – 1622
Murad IV	1623 – 1640
Ibrahim	1640 – 1648
Mohamed IV	1648 – 1687
Sulaiman II	1687 – 1691
Ahmed II	1691 – 1695
Mustafa II	1695 – 1703
Ahmed III	1703 – 1730
Mohamud I	1731 – 1754
Osman III	1754 – 1757
Mustafa III	1757 – 1773
Abdul Hamid I	1773 – 1789
Salim III	1789 – 1807
Mustafa IV	1807 – 1808
Mohamud II	1808 – 1839
Abdul Majid	1839 – 1861
Abdul Aziz	1861 – 1876
Abdul Hamid II	1876 – 1909
Muhamad V	1909 – 1918
Muhammad VI	1918 – 1922
Abdul Majid	1922 – 1924

The Hijrat Movement

BANGAL KHILAFAT CONFERENCE. 1920

THE unwise imposition of the Rowlett Act and the atrocious policy adopted by The Government to give open licence to the Dyers and the O'dwyers to commit misdeeds of their own choice and likings had created and cemented Hindu-Muslim Unity before the *Khilafat* Delegation, headed by Mohamed Ali, had left for Europe. The national sentiment was in full fury and people were determined to force the Government to concede to their just demands. At that time at the Calcutta session of the Bengal Provincial *Khilafat* Coference held in August 1920, Abul Kalam Azad delivered his most famous, important and historical presidential address on.

مسئلۂ خلافت جزیرۃ العرب

(The question of *Khilafat* and *Jazira-ul-Arab).*

Tracing the authentic history of the *Khilafat,* he advised the Muslims not to cooperate with the British Government till it agreed to redress their grivences. This address, in fact, put fuel to the fire, and a spirit of fresh enthusiasm, energy and sacrifice was generated throughout the country, which knew no bounds.

Ulema on Hijrat

At this opportune moment the obligation of *Hijrat* (migration for national and religious cause) was emphasized to the people. The cry was first raised in Lucknow, not by any relegious or political organisation, but by individuals, on their own accords. The *Ulema* gave the clarion call to the Muslims to leave their fatherland as it had become obligatory for them to do so. *Hijrat* became the topic of the day, but it would sound strange that from the centre wherefrom the first cry of *Hijrat* was heard only a negligible number, cared to leave the soil of India. As against the ineffectness of the cry in other provinces of India, the Pathans of the North Western Frontier province and the Sindhis fell prey to it. The local *ulema* soon took up the question in their traditional religious way by issuing a *Fatwa*. With deep rooted hatred of foreign rule, they considered it to be the best weapon employed against Britishers. The Pathans started *Hijrat* (migration) first individually and then in small groups. Later on it swelled into thousands.

Writes Mr. Evard :

> "Tens of thousand of the inhabitants of the Province either performed and prepared to perform the *Hijrat* to Afghanistan in the belief that it was their religious duty." Evolution of N.F.F. Provie.

They could see only two free Muslim States in their

neighbourhood, Afghanistan and Iran. The first named being easily accessible their choice fell on it.

The move, as stated above was not started by any organisation. There was no central or provincial body to organise and control it. Each individual was at liberty to act under the light of the said *Fatwa*. Our most reverend *Ulema*, while starting such a drastic movement, did not ponder over the pros and cons but only confined their responsiblities to the extent of issuing a *Fatwa*. They even failed to study the important and the elementary question: whether the tiny Government of Afghanistan, which had just recently won her independence, would be able to absorb or accommodate the *Muhajirs* (Immigrants) in large numbers? They did not even give any consideration to the question that at least the Pathan *Muhajirs* would press the Afghan Government to supply them with arms and ammunitions to fight against the British Government, irrespective of the fact that it would not be possible for the Afghan Government to plunge itself once again into (plunge) the fire of war.

Undoubtedly, there were some far sighted workers who, though could not stop the wholesale migration but tried their best to bring it into order and not to allow Muslims to leave their homes indiscrimina-tely. However, the *Fatwa* did not make any distinc tion between the rich and the poor, old and youing, or healthy and unhealthy. Once when Agha Mohamad

Safadar, a sincere worker from Sialkot, taking courage into his hands opposed indiscriminate nature of the *Hijrat*, he was dragged down from the pulpit, insulted and styled by the *Ulema* as 'an intruder into the precincts of *Shariat-e-Islam*'. His suggestion to allow only those ablebodied Muslims who would be useful to Afghanistan, like teachers, doctors, technicians etc, was dubbed as un-Islamic. The Government on its part did not care to interfere in such a mass migration and all the laws and regulations governing the transit procedure were safely shelved in the Goverment offices. No one even raised a finger to stop the emigrants or put any hindrance in their way. In fact, the Government was well aware that such a mass and unorganised movement could not succeed and specially when the Afghan Government under no circumstances could accommodate them. However, it would not be disclosing a secret to say that the Government wanted that the Movement should face failure on the soil of Afghanistan, compelling the *Muhajirs* to return disgrunted against the national leaders of their country and thus divide the people to crush the national movement which was at its highest pitch at the time. The Government tempted Inayatullah Khan Al-Mashraqi, the then Principal of Government High School, Peshawar, to accept a high and lucrative post in the British Embasay at Kabul and try to give the death below to the Hijrat Movement. But, that brave son of *Islam*, who later on because famous as the Head of the *Khaksar*, Move-

ment, refused, the offer with contempt and bravely came forward to offer his resignation from the Indian Educational Service if pressed to accept the shameful job. Later on, he was disqualified for service under medical grounds, though in fact no Board of Doctors had ever examined him. Mashraqi held the same view as expressed by Agha Mohammad Safdar, referred to above, and secretly advised the *Hijrat* Committee's prominent workers, with whom he had intimate relations. However, the masses were influenced to such an extent that they world not hear a single word against the religious sayings of these *Ulemas*. The result was no secret. The Movement failed and it failed miserably.

Muhajirs En Route To Afghanistan

To cut the story short, the *Muhajirs* began to pour into Peshawar to proceed further to Afghanistan. In the beginning they came in small parties but gradually their number began to rise and it became difficult for the inhabitants of Pshawar to individually accommodate them. The traditional hospitality of the citizens compelled them to boldly come forward. Postponing their own migration first they served the *Muhajirs* pouring into the city. They immediately formed a party under the name of *Hijrat* Committee, with Haji Jan Mohammad, a wellknown contractor of Peshawar as its President. It was not too difficult for the citizens to accommodate moderate size parties, but, in due

course a special railway train loaded with Sindhi *Muhajirs*, headed by their famous leader, Jan Mohammad Jonijo, bar-at-law, arrived. Grand royal reception was accorded to them and in a long procession they were carried from the Peshawar City Railway Station to the office of the *Hijrat* Committee where a few business *serais*, in Namakmandi, were vacated to serve as *Muhajir* camps. This arrival of the Sindhi Special added oil to the fuel and the Pathans of the Frontier jumped up to their heels and prepared to leave the country, preferably via Peshawar, Shabkadr and Kohat, and the branches of the *Hijrat* Committee were opened throughout the province in no time. The *Muhajirs* were reaching Peshawar in great numbers, thousands at a time. Though it was most difficult job to entertain. and accommodate them in the city yet the *Hijrat* Committee emerged equal to the occasion, and the *Khilafat* volunteers, a corps of selfless unpaid workers, served them, day and night, without giving the *Muhnjirs* any chance to complain.

The Heartrending Story of The Muhajirs

Thousands of Pathans left their homes. Houses were deserted. Standing crops were left unprotected. Those matrimonially engaged were asked to get married immediately. The wedding ceremonies were performed quickly and the brides and the bridegrooms left their homes and became *Muhnjirs*. Children were parting with their parents, old mothers unable to accompany

their sons, were crying and advising them to remain faithfully to their Holy Prophet, and sisters were saying goodbyes to their brothers with tears in theier eyes. *Several had to divorce their wives, because somehow they could not accompany their husbands and the crying babies were left behind under the protection of their unfortunate mothers. Awful scenes were witnessed and even the most Stonehearted people were deeply moved.*

Non-co-operation with the Government

NON - CO - OPERATION
CONCEIVED BY THE KHILAFATISTS

WHILE Mohamed Ali was leading the *Khilafat* Delegation to Europs and was busy in performing the duties entrusted to him the *Khilafat* Movement was gaining an everincreasing strength on the soil of India and the *Khilafatists* were rushing headlong to launch a movement non-cooperation with the Government. Hindu leader-ship though desirous of receiving the redress of the strocities committed by the British regime on the people was not yet ready to take such a drastic step as to non-cooperate with the authorities on whom they, in fact had pinned their hopes since 1857. However, despite Hindu reluctance the *Khilafatists* summoned a conference of all the prominent Muslims and non-Muslims at Allahabad and asked for their moral and physical support. The invitation was very couragesously responded to and nearly all the invitses flocked to the Conference held in the first week of June 1920. Most prominent among the participents were Seth Haji Jan Mohd. Chotani, the President of All India *Khilafat* Committee; Shaukat Ali, Maulana Abdul Bari of Luknow, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Hasrat Mohani, Zafar

Ali Khan, Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, Dr. **Saifuddin** *Kitchlew, Fazal Haq, Syed Raza Ali, Seth Yaqoob Hassan, Maulvi Taj Mohammed of sind, Mohamed Ali Qasuri, Zahoor Ahmed, Bart-at-Law, Kamaluddin Jaffari, Wilayat Hussain, Mr. Kidwai, Mr. Gandhi, Mrs Anne Besant, Mrs. Sarladevi Chaudhrani, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nahru, Lajpat Rai, Tej Bahadur Sapru, B. C. Pal, Satyamurti, Rajgopalacharia, Chintamani, Goverdhan Das, Jairamdas Daulatram, Jamnadas, Dwarkadas, Jaswani, Jawaharlal Nahru, and many others. Along with them there poured in massages from Dr. Satyapal, R. B. Sultan Singh, Paranjpye, Tilak, Karishne Desai, Ranga Iyar, Vijiragavachariar, Mahadev Rao, Rangaswami Iyengar, Natranjan, Sir Narayan Chandevarkar, Abul Kalam Azad, Saddiq Hussain, Mohamed Sadiq, Maulana Akram Khan, etc.*

The Muslims had informal meetings at the residence of Zahoor Ahmed, Bar-at-law while the non-Muslims gathered at Pandit Motilal Nehru's Anand Bhawan. Later on, joint sessions were hald at the Railway Theatre on the 1st and 2nd of June 1920, where some 300 representatives participated. Both the sessions commenced with the recitations of verses from the Holy *Quran*. Forceful and convincing speeches were delivered by many including Motilal Nehru, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sapru, Satyamurti, B. C. Pal, Rajgopalacharier, Lajpat Rai, etc. showing great sympathy for the Muslim cause undoubtedly, some favoured the Move on principle, some expressed doubts as to its

success and some supported its early start. Only Mrs. Anne Besant strongly opposed it though she expressed deep sympathy for the Muslims and promised all help though her press and the Theosophical Society. General feeling were in favour of launching the non-cooperation Movement and a resolution to this effect was adopted. Thus having been assured all moral help by the Hindu leaders The Central *Khilafat* Committee. held its final meeting during the night of June 2 presided over by Seth Haji Jan Mohamed Chotani. Gandhiji was specially invited to place the Hindu viewpoint and was also requested to lead the Movement. Gandhiji delivered a tactful speech expressing wholehearted sympathy for the Muslim cause and agreeing to lead the movement, suggested, the appointment of a small committee to work out the scheme. His suggestion was accepted and there-after the following resolution were adopted:

> "This meeting reaffirms the movement of non-cooperation in accordance with the four stages already apporved by the Central *Khilafat* Committee and appoints a sub-committee consisting of the following gentlemen, with powers to add to their number, to give practical effect to the movement without further delay:
>
> Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulvi Mohamed Ali Qasuri, Mr. Ahmed Haji Siddiq Khatri, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew

and Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

By other resoultions:

(a) a protest was lodged against the Turkish Treaty terms,

(b) H. E. H. The Nizam was asked to reconsider a Firman under which the *Khilafat* meetings were prohibited as the Firman was against *Shariat Islamia*,

(c) Committee was appointed to launch and make a sucess of the *Swadeshi* Movemnt.

(d) Amirchand Bombwal of Peshawar was congratulated on his having been penalized by the Government for his sympathy with the *Khilafat* Movement

(e) Maulana Fakhir and Maulvi Hamid Ahmed were congratulated for the fortitude and courage they had shown under most provocative circumstances and for preferring to go to Jail rather than submit to the orders of the Government to refrain from carrying out the *Khilafat* propaganda,

(f) it was decided to organise a *Khilafat* Volunteer Corps having its branches throughout India, and

(g) it was also decided that the supporters of *Khilafat* should use a badge with the phrase "We are the helpers of God".

Fatwa in Support of non-Cooperation

Nearly two months after the deliberations the Bengal Provincial *Khilafat* Conference met at Calcutta, where Abul Kalam Azad delivered a most forceful presidential address entitled, ***Masla-i-Khilafat-o-Jaziratul Arab*** (مسئلۂ خلافت و جزیرۂ العرب) and discussed in it the historical, religious and political aspects of the qestion, in such a scholarly way that the said address could prove to be a Reference Book on the subject for years to come. Concluding the address he strongly pleaded for non-cooperation with the Government until the Muslims' and the Indians' grievences were redressed. Along with it a *Fatwa* (religious verdict) to the same effect was published bearing the signatures of not less than 501 *ulama* of *Islam*, including the top-most personalities of their time.

Mohamed Ali returned from Europe during October 1920. The Muslims at that time had been deeply disturbed over the *Khilafat* question and were in the forefront of tho battle. The Indian National Congress as a body had so far not adopted the policy of non-co-operation officially. The non-extrimists like M. A. Jinnah, C. R. Das and M. M. Malaviya, who were leading the Muslim moderates, the Hindu moderates and the Hindu *Mahasabha* respectively, were doing their best to prevent the Congress from adopting such a drastic step. The Ali Brothers supported by Gandhi and the *Khilafat* Committee were doing their best to

influence the Congressites to march ahead and fight the forces of tyranny and thus strengthen the Khilafat Movement as well as the Indians.

All India Congress Session at Nagpur

The annual session of the All India Congress Committee held at Nagpur during December 1920 was expected to be the most important and stormy session of the organisation since its birth in 1885. All the ranks and file of the Congress holding different shades of opinion, both exteremistes, and moderates assembled in full force. The situation became too hard and complicated to handle. Each and every leader was busily engaged in persuading his opponents to join his camp. Of them Mohamed Ali was visibly the busiest of all. He rushed hither and thither from one place to another discussing with the *Mahasabhites*, with Hindu and Muslim moderates, and was crossing swords with men like Jinnah, Das and Malaviya. C. R. Das, the top most practising lawyer of his time, was the most honest among the Hindu moderates and a sincere nationalist commanding immense ifluence in the political field, Mohamad Ali tried to win him over to support the Non-co-operation Movement and to give up his legal practice in the law courts. He was too hard a nut to crack. However, Mohamed Ali, true to his nature, as a born fearless fighter, never allowed himself to be disheartened by the ups and downs that normllay beset the thorny path of every honest political leader. He continued to strive

and struggle super-humanly, and his happiness and joy knew no bounds when in the middle of a night while be was returning, feeling utterly exhasted to take a little badly needed rest, C. R. Das caught hold of his hand, whispered; "Mohamed Ali, I am convinced," and declared that he was leaving his legal practice to join the fighting forces of the Congress, and did not care a brass button for the lose of tons of money which he was earning from his profession.

Most Busy Leader of His Time

It was a signal achievement for the advancement of Mohamed Ali's cause, the moderates were outvoted and the Congress officially started the Non-co-operation Movement. In fact, C. R. Das' conversion to the cause non-co-operation proved to be a turning point in the history of the Congress. The country gave the government such a stiff and tough opposition that it is written in bold letters on the pages of the Indian history as a source of inspiration and courage for the coming generations. Mohamed Ali was the most happy figure in the Congress camp, for if he had failed in his efforts and if the Congress had rejected the proposed policy of non-co-operation, the *Khilafat* Movement would not have achieved the historical succes it did. Decidedly, it was due to his extraordinary wisdom and farsightedness that Mohamed Ali won over the Hindu community with an influential leader iike Gandhiji at its head, to cooperate with him in fighting for cause of the *Khilafat*

and the Muslims. The credit goes exclusively to Mohamed Ali's admirable and able leadership which considerably heartened Nationlist Turks. Some Turks in an interview with Lajpat Rai, a prominent Hindu leader, during the latter's visit to Turkey are reported to have told him, that on several occasions they were so hard pressed by their enemies that they felt nearly exhausted losing their spirit to fight, but were always emboldened and encouraged by the thought that they had the support of their Indian Muslim brothers a thought which made them redouble their efforts lest the Indian Muslims suhould be disappointed.

The adoption of the policy of non-cooperation officially by the Congress resulted in the walk-out of the Moderates. Many of them had heartfelt sympathy for the cause for which the Congress had decided to take such a drastic step, but they could not see eye to eye with the extremists, while those, having pro-government mentality, were actually, opposed to it could not dare utter a word in public and were thus compelled to either sit silent as spectators, or to see no other way except to serve as stooges to the rulers and draw some personal benefits, all opportunists invariably do under such circumstances. However, the Hindu *Mahasabha* was wise enough to retain its seats in the Congress. Though they did not support the Movement, they remained inside to excercise moderating influence with a view to achieving their object. They achieved considerable

suceess in this respect Later on, when Mohamed Ali was put behind the bars, they got the opportunity they longed for and disrupted the Hindu Muslim unity successfully.

GANDHI: Leader of United India.

After adopting the new policy Gandhi became the accepted leader of a united India and under his guidance the movement began to spread far and wide. Leaders toured all over the county to contact and organise the masses, and to lead them to fight where and when necessary Lawyers including many moderates gave up their legal practices students left Government and the aided educational institutions, hundreds resigned government offices, law courts were deserted and the National *Panchayats* started working instead, and the British goods were boycotted. In short, the country was aflame and in a ferment from one end to the other with the national odour to offer all sacrifices for the sacred cause. The Government was not sitting idle either. A clash was unavoidable. Nationlist and Government forces were poised against each other, the first named filled with the sprit and love to sacrifice for the sacred cause while the latter was up in arms to retain by brutal force its hold and keep the chains of slavery round the neck of the Indians as tight as was possihle. The iron rod and the firing squads were on the move; thousands and thousands of the inhabitants were arrested and their personal

liberties snatched away.

Arrested while en route to Malabar

During these days Ali Brothers' brave mother who throughout their jail life, except during the period they were in Betul Jail, had accompanied them, was now touring the country independently, while another noble lady, *Begum* Mohamed Ali acconpanied her husband through thick and thin of the political struggle. Mohamed Ali along with his *Begum* and Gandhi were continuously in their "home-on-wheels". When they were heading for Madras and intended to pay a visit to Malabar where Innocent Mop-lahs had recently been made target of the British brutalities and atrocities, Mohamed Ali was arrested at the Waltair Railway Station. The *Begum* was separated from him. From Waltair Mohamed Ali was taken to Karachi to face the historically sensational trial. The *Begum* and Gandhi kept on touring the country as before to awaken the masses. Soon after Shaukat Ali, along with some other co-workers was also arrested and was sent to Karachi to join his younger brother once again to appear in a farcical trial staged by the Britishers with the diabolical intention of condemning them to their dark dungeons for yet another unjust and long term of imprisonment.

The Mopalas, referred to above, are Muslims being the offspring of Arab migrants in Malabar who settled

down in that part of the country long time age. A glimpse of the atrocities committed on them can be had from the following passage.

> "Horror and indignation were expressed at the inhumanity of confining nearly a hundred Mopala prisoners in a goods wagon on their transfer to Belari which ended in the death by suffocation of 70 of them on the night of November 19, 1921. The tragedy of Black Hole never occurred. It was only manufactured, but the British enacted the Wagon Tragedy".

And another writer, a person not less important than Sir Sankaran Nair a Member of the Council of India at that time goes little further saying :

> "More than two thousand Mohammedans and Hindus killed by troops, according to official estimate, thousand more in other ways, larger number wounded;......woman and purdah (veiled) woman too, raped, not in a fit of passion, but systematically and with calculated revolting and horrible cruelty for which I have not been able to find a paralelled in history... .."**

During these days when Hindu-Muslim Unity was at its height in India, our Hindu neighbours,

*See Appendex **Gandhi and Anarchy

whom we have always protected at the cost of our lives, and who have been the sole custodians of the Pathans' wealth got an excellent opportunity and bought from the Pathan *Muhajirs*, their grain, cattle, etc. at the lowest prices; for example they paid a rupee or two for each head of a cattle worth foty to sixty rupees at that time, and the price they paid for grains, etc; was so low that there is nothing they should be more ashmed of.

Statements Against Mohamed Ali

The above lines might appear redundent to the reader as these are not connected with Mohamed Ali's life. However, their insertion is necessitated by the fact that the political opponents of Mohamed Ali have issued highly fallacious statements trying to link the origin of the *Hijrat* Movement with his name and under his advice or leadership. And among those who misrepresented the *Hijrat* episode were not only the Indian opponents but also foreigners holding such high positions as Sir Theodore Marison and Professor Gibb of the University of London. Sir Theodors had for several years served the Aligarh College and could not have been ignorant of actual facts. With an ulterior motive he delibrately misrepresented the case saying that Mohamed Ali on return from England had advised the Muslims to migrate to a Muslim country where Islam could be safe. Professor Gibb, without mentioning the name of Mohamed Ali has corroborated

this false and malicious story in his book entitled, *Whither Islam*. Both about the *Hijrat* affairs, if they had cared to verify before they committed the criminal folly of publishing a distorted version of simple event. It is not secret to disclose that the *Hijrat* Movement was started just at a time when Mohamed Ali had already left India to lead the *Khilafat* Delegation. The movement was in full swing during the months of June, July and August, 1920, when Mohamed Ali was still on the British soil, and by the time he returned to India in October 1920 the *Hijrat* Movement had dwindled into insignificance.

In fact practically there was no organisation of any kind in India to supervise the *Hijrat* Movement, nor it was organised by the *Khilafat* Committee or any other similar body, rather it was the venture of individuals, who did not feel any responsibility in this connection. The *Hijrat* Committee formed at Peshawar was the outcome of an urgent necessity and had nothing to do with the origin or the start of the Movement. Later on, seeing the movement engulfing the country, the All India *Khilafat* Committee, for the first time took up the matter for serious consideration and in a prudent way on August 10, 1920. To be on the safe side the Committee decided to consult the Afghan Government on the subject. Shaukat Ali, in this connection, started regular correspondence with the Afghan Embasay in India and some five or six weeks were wasted as the Afghan Government after

the Third Afghan War had not yet fully organised its agencies. During this period the Non-co-opration Movement spread like wild fire, and the *Hijrat* Movement came to an abrupt and making it superfluous to persue the matter further with the Afghan authorities. Actually all these incidents happened in the absence of Mohamed Ali whom his opponents and men like Sir Theorder Morison and Professor Gibb, and several others including Khaliq-uz-zaman have vainly and viciously attempted to defame and blame.

The political records of the pre partition India are clear on the point that Khaliq-uz-zaman did not appear very much in the picture at the time of the *Hijrat* Movement, yet to follow into the footsteps of the above mentioned Europeans he has inserted a few lines in his autobiography "PATHWAY TO PAKISTAN" unjustly attributing courage and vision to himself and a defeatist mentality to Mohamed Ali who was quite well known for his undaunted courge. Khaliq-uz-zaman writes :

> "A meeting was held at Allahabad in November 1920 where the question came up for discussion. Maulana Mohamed Ali spoke in its *(Hijrat's)* favour but I opposed it and said : 'I consider it as the outcome of a defatist mentality...... Later I heard that the resolution was passed by a large majority. About 20,000 Muslims marched Kabul......p-56"

It has been described in the previous pages that there had been no organisation worth the name to guide the *Hijrat* Movement, except a local *Hijrat* Committee formed at Peshawar. It was a cry raised by some *Ulama* in their individual capacity which was received with religious zeal and enthusiasm, specially by the Pathans and the Sindhis, Later, the Central *Khilafat* Committee seeing the ever increasing critical situation tried and took up the matter with Afghanistan's official representative in India and Shaukat Ali wrote his first letter in this connection on August 10, 1920. This Afghan Agency having not yet been fully established, some six weeks were wasted without reaching any conclusion. During this period the Non-cooperation Movement spread by leaps and bounds and the *Hijrat* Movement abruptly ended during September 1920. Mohamed Ali returned from England in October and thus there was no question of his discussing any resolution in November of that year, giving an opportunity to the author of the PATHWAY TO PAKISTAN to opppse Mohamed Ali's defeatist mentality'. The passage also contains the figure of 20,000 *Muhajirs* leaving their country for Kabul after November, while the Movement had ceased long before the said month. He only heard that some 20,000 had migrated to Kabul, while in fact, those who migrated long before November were far greater. Anayatullah Khan Al-Mashraqi* even gives figures five times higher, in his

See Appendex

book the *Isharat*. Even an Englisman, Mr. Ewart by name referring to *Hijrat* wrote : *

> "Tens of thousand of the inhabitants of the Province either performed and prepared to perform the *Hijrat* to Afghanistan in the belief that it was their religious duty." **

It is a pity that Khaliq-uz-zaman has inserted such a vainglorious statement in his autobiography.

*See Appendex **The Evulution of N. W. F. P.

Jamiat
Ulama-i-Hind

ULAMA KEPT THEMSELVES SECLUDED FROM POLITICS

THE Study of Islamic history reveals that in the early days of Islamic progress there had never been any priestly class as Islam did not accept the same, yet the learned theologians *(Ulama)* had all along been respected by the community. During this glorious era the chosen ones of them rendered valuable services to the cuase of Islam and had been noted as *Mujahids*. But, later on when the Muslim power scattered and muslim prestige began to sink there arose a tendency among the *Ulama* to pose themselves as a class superior to other believers, and with a few exceptions they became puppet in the hands of kings, and wealthy influential people of their time. With the support of the ruling authorities their *Fatwas* were thrust on Muslims whether they were in accordance with the dictates of Islam or not. One finds no difficulty in tracing out such instances in the pages of our history. It is not a proper place to give details of such happenings and to show how the true believers fighting for the just cause were treated, tortured and even put to death in compliance of such *Fatwas*.

On the advent of the British regime in India too, some brave *Ulama* opposed the invaders, but with the changing time many were inspired to consider themselves superiror to other believers and thus gradually they became inactive. They were divided into two famous groups, the *Ulama* and the *Sajjadanashins*, and with some notable exceptions, led a secluded life and confined themselves to their *Madrassas* and *Mujras*, concentrating on reading, praying, teaching and surrounded by *Talaba* (Students of theology) and *Murids* (diciples). They had but little interest in public life, in the politics of the country or in the worldly future of the community. The situation can be judged from the fact that when the British and the Allies let loose their forces of tyranny to decinate the *Khilafat* and the unity of the Islamic world, only a few of them could come out in opposition to imperialism in the true spirit of a *Mujahid*. Such exceptions were Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan, Hussain Ahmad Madani, Ozer Gul, Moin-ud-ddin Ajmeri, and a few others, their numbnr could be counted on finger. The majority of them, however remained deaf and dumb watching the situation as idle spectators. Some of them even fell to the depth of degredation to such an extent that they helped the British and graced the Allies with their blessings and wrote *Tawiz* (talisman) to protect their soldiers from the Turkish bullets.

Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind Organised

However, after the termination of the First World War when Maulana Mohmud-ul-Hassan and his comrates who had been deported to Malta and other places were released and set free; they once again took up the torch to support the Islamic cause and joining hands with the Ali Brothers proposed to form an organisation containing *Ulama* and *Sajjadanashins* Dr. M. A. Ansari vehamently opposed, the idea, saying, that once these half-educated in-experienced stepped on the stage and realized their influence with the masses their organization would not easily be reekened with. The Ali Brothers remained on their feet, not budging an inch from their stand, and carried the day. Thus, *Jamiat-Ulama-Hind* took its brith, and the Ali Brothers are called the originators of the same. A well-known writer, Qazi Abdul Ghaffar of Muradabad describes as under :

> "In the current history of India, this declaration was the first which had invited the Hujra-nasheen (confined to the chambers) *ulama* and *Maulvis* to public life. Before that the learned *ulama* did not care to come out of the walls of their chambers or *madrassas*, and the professional *Maulvis* used to appear in *akharas* (arenas) only wrestling for religious beliefs".*

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* *Hayat-e-Ajmal* (translated from Urdu)

The said *Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind* rendered meritorious services in the true spirit of Islamic teachings and their famous *Fatwa* signed by not less than 501 *Ulama* and *Sajjadanashins* greately strengthened the Non-co-operation Movement. And the all-India *Khilafat* Committee owed a great deal of its success to their efforts.

Unfortunate Differences Creep In

While they were bravely facing the situation and supporting the cause of *Khilafat* unfortunately the Arabian affairs, i. e. the between *Sultan* Idn Saud and Sharif Hussain, crept in and proved a wedge to divide the *Ulama* and the *Sajjadanashins* on sectarian grounds. Thus the whole Muslim community was divided into different warring camps and the soliderity which had been attained after so hard a struggle was disintegrated.

Mohamed Ali all along his life held independent view and had never been carried away by any one's personal influence, may that be of his own *Pir* against his own conviction. In the beginning when *Sultan* Saud dislodged or dethroned Sharif Hussain of Mecca he supported the *Sultan* but later on when the *Sultan* declared himself king, Mohamed Ali was not lacking in opposing him vehemently. His stand was that the future of Arabia should be entrusted to a World Muslim Conference as had been promised by the *Sultan* in reply to a telegram sent by the *Khilafat* Committee.

The whole story is narrated some-where else in this book. The friction thus created gradually increased. However, all the religious heads remained attached to the *Jamiat* attacking each other within their own circle, and every one of them sought to dictate his own view point to the rest as the only way out under the Islamic Law. But Mohammed Aii could not be influenced by their decisions or views as he did not believe in any sort of Priesthood in *Islam.* His views in this regard are éfficent from the following utterance.

> "......the absence of priestly ideal, of any theory of the separateness of the religious teacher from the common body of the believers or of the necessity of a special consecration and authorisation for the performance of religious function which has resulted in *Islam* in an added feeling of responsibility resting on the individual believer and the general level of uniformity in Muslim society un-known in communities that maintained a priesthood has also tended to keep religion undivoraced from life among the *Mussalmans,* and to make it the concern of all alike". (M. L. A. F.)

And even taking a step further he wrote:

> "Islam had no apostles, no Church, and no Church Councils like Christianity to dictats her creed to the believers. It has not even a clergy and the whole spirit of *Islam* is consistently and relentle-

ssly oppsed to such a thing as 'experts' in religion. It wanta all alike to know their faith, and religion should be the province of all the faithful".

(M. L. A. F.)

Split In Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind

Later on, unfortunately the ill famed Nehru Report widened the differences and the Congress exploited the situation. Abul Kalam Azad, a staunch supporter of the Report, having great influence on the *Jamiat*, tried to win over the organisation and successfully achieved his object. Similarly men like Dr. Ansari, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Khaliq - uz - zaman, deserted the mother institution, the *Khilafat* Committee. Azad also tried to mislead the Pathan *Khilafatists*, and ultimately succeeded in making two opposite camps, viz *Khilafat* and the Congress led by Allah Buksh Yusufi and Syed Lal Badshah. The *Jamiat* itself was sacrificed at the alter of rested interests.

Probably, at this junction Mohammed Ali realized that Dr. Ansari's opinion, tended at the time of formation of the *Jamiat* was sound enough to be heard but was disgusted with their behavour to snch an extent that once in presence of his friends and co-workers, with a distressed voice, he said to had committed an unpardonable sin, and doubted if prividence would forgive him for the same. On stressing enquiry he clarified that the committed sin was no other than that he dragged the *Ulama* and *Sajjadanishins* into politics,

When the question of electing a new President of *Jamiat* arose and the name of Mohamed Ali was proposed for the said office, the pro-Nehru Report section of the *Ulama* opposed the move saying that Mohamed Ali dld not possess a certificate from any *Madressa* (religious institution). They were well aware that Mohammed Ali was a capable *Alim* and could even teach theogly to many of them for years. And further, if after all any certificate was needed he had already been awarded the title of *Maulana* by that great seat of religious learning called Firangi Mahal, Lucknow, run under the guidance of no less a person than *Maulana* Abdul Bari. The opposing section had totally closed their eyes to see even the fact that some non-certificated *Ulama* including Abul Kalam Azad had already occupied the presidental chair on several occasions.

However, under the said circumstances a tug-of war started and the *Jamiat* was divided into two camps never to unite again,. The group in support of Mohmmed Ali called Jamiat *Ulama-i-Islam* held its session under the Presidentship of Mohammed Ali at Cawnpore in the beginning of 1930 where Maulana Abdul Majid Badayuni a well-known theologian and *Sajjadanashin* was the moving spirit. In another session held later at Amroha (India) where Mohammed Ali exposed the dissenting group of the *Jamiat*. His speech received great publicity and was appreciated by all Muslim quarters, specially the masses.

Dissenting Jamiat Group Opposed Pakistan

The dissenting *Jamiat* Group under the guidance of Abul Kalam Azad had began to play second fiddle to the Congress High Command. It fell into such a degraded position that taking a stand against the Muslim League it vehemently opposed the establishment of a separate Muslim State under the name of Pakistan which came into being before their very eyes. But in spite of this it failed to grasp the reality in India and the *Jamiat* is still working as a housemaid under the Congress Government. Its attitude was not only painful for the Muslims in general but also proved a shock for Mohammad Ali, one of the actual founders of the organisation.

Jamia Millia
Islamia

95-120

JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA

ON return from Europe Mohamed Ali founded the *Jamia Islamia** (National Muslim Univer sity) at Aligarh in November 1920; just during the thick of the Non-cooperation Movement, when anti-Government feelings were running high, the legal practitioners had suspended their practice, the law courts had turned empty giving a deserted look, Government awarded titles were thrown back on the face of the awarders, the Government and the Government-aided educational institutions had been boycotted and a general appeal to the students was in the air and the managements of the aided organisations were requested to stand up-right and bravely unburden their institutions from the aid wihch had been fettring their national aspirations. The Ali Brother's proverbial love for Aligarh naturally diverted their attention to that centre of learning and they tried to start this new adventure from that very institution.

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* See Appendex

Aligarh University under foreign influence.

Aligarh at that very time, as has been the case since long, was under the clutches of the Britishers with the help of their hangers-on and the administration, in the words of Mr. Edmonds, a European Headmaster of the Collegiat High School, "(the Principal) runs the Institution from the back-door of the Collector's Bungalow." However, Mohamed Ali took a wiser course and tried to convince the demi-gods of the College to submit to the national aspiration, and join hands with him in having the College run on independent lines in the best interests of the community and the country, thus leaving no chance for the alien rope-pullers, sitting behind the screen to make any mischief. With such good intentions he, along with his comrades, approached the Trustees, but barring a few, found them all deaf and dum, not willing to hear a single word against their masters, the Rulers of the country. Their self-interests did not allow them to side with those who were fighting for the liberty and freedom for all; rather the Trustees passed a resolution consuring not only the Ali Brothers but Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. M. A. Ansari as well. This attitude of the Trustees was, apparently, a challange to the National Workers, who in the prevailing atmosphere became more active and energetic than before. The Ali Brothers broadcast their appeal from the mosques and the public platform, and, turning towards the students they addressed the Students Union with such a force that Zakir

Hussain, the Vice President of the Union, who had attended the meeting to convert Mohamed Ali was himself converted and became a Non-co-operator and follower of the Ali Brothers. Some 600 students leaving the University and joined the *Jamia.*

The Movement spread far and wide and students not only from Aligarh but also from other provinces of India began to pour into *Jamia.* The Trustees and the Government authorities visibly saw sedition in the Movement and the organisers of the movement were threatened not only to leave the College area but also all surroundings of Aligarh. The brave fighters took their abode in the Old Boy's lodge which had been erected by the untiring efforts of the Ali Brothers. The demi-gods of Aligarh College, under inspirations from the British could not bear to allow them to live there even and spread 'sedition' all round. They were, therefore, asked to vacate the Old Boys' Lodge; but to their utter dismay, the Trustees received a severe rebuke that the Lodge being the property of the Old Boys Association, was not under the jurisdiction of the Trustees. Though the Trustees could not move further legally yet they tried their best to harrass the National workers by asking the officials concerned to deprive them of water-supply and light, and other amenities of life. But in spite of all such degraded activities of their opponents, Mohamed Ali and his comrades lived and appeared as cheerful as ever, showing not an iota of grief or trouble on their faces.

National Workers Expulsion from University Campus

The determination of the National workers brought up the cup of vengeance of Trustees to the brim and they saw no other course but to rush to their masters, the Government officials, for help. A Police posse was placed at their disposal and the Police hounds carrying *lathis*, rifles and revolvers demonstrated the tyrannical force of their employers. The Ali Brothers and their comrades were ordered, to vacate the Old Boys' Lodge as the Government had 'reasons to believe that the place was used for seditious purposes.' What a painful scene it would have been to see: The Ali Brothers, the champion of the cause of *Islam* and to a great extent responsible for the establishment of Aligarh University; and their co-workers, surrounded by Police, walking out and leaving the Lodge as if they were criminals. This cowardly act of concerned authorities, did not dishearten Mohamed Ali or his fellow workers and, on leaving the Lodge they hired a few tents and pitched them at a little distance off the University campus and carried on their mission.

Jamia under the Shadow of trees

In *Jamia*, they held their classes under the shadow of the trees joyfully. As no curriculum has yet been set up, there were lectures on different topics, generally on the History and the glorious past of *Islam*. And when the number of students began to increase, some nearby buildings were also acquired to accommo-

date new-comers. Mohamed Ali became the First Principal, Tasadduq Ahmad Khan Sherwani, the First Registrar, *Sheikh-ul Hind* Mahmud-ul-Hassan the guiding Patron and Hakim Ajmal Khan, the *Amir*. The Objects of this educational institution, the *Jamia*, are detailed by Mohamed Ali himself in the following words:

> "To our mind the greatest need of Muslims is that they should be Muslims in the truest sense of the word, and for the purpose it is essential that we should not toletrate the lacerating distinction between temporal and spiritual things, nor encourage any differentiation of species among the Muslims such as the clergy and the laity. The evils from which Muslim society in this country was suffereing had to be clearly understood, and remedies had to be devised therefore, and incorporated in scheme of studies. The goal that was always kept in view was to turn out from these institutions not only young men of culture according to modern standards, but true Muslims imbued with the spirit of *Islam*, and possessing enough knowledge of their religion to be able to stand by them-selves as sufficiently independent units in the army of *Islam's* missionaries."
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> Speeches. P-414/5

However, the *Jamia* was marching on the road of prosperity when all of a sudden the Ali Brothers were arrested and the drama of a farcical trial was

inacted at Karachi, known as the Great Karachi Trial, and where in they, along with some other co-workers, were sentenced to two years hard labour. Later on the *Jamia* was shifted to Delhi and the Principal's chair, after Mohamed Ali was occupied in turn by Abdul Majid Khwaja, Dr. Mohammud Alam.

Jamia then and now

The *Jamia* which still exists at Jamianagar, Delhi was doing useful service to its community and country, but, unfortunately the differences which had been watered by the Hindu communalists, created a gulf between the *Khilafatists* and the Congressites and it badly effected the institution. Gradullay it passed into the hands of the so-called Nationalists or the Congressites; and has turned into a subsidiary institution in the Congress camp overlooking the object for which it was established. And now, if one happens to pay a visit to *Jamia* at Delhi seldom would one find the name of Mohamed Ali on the lips of the staff or the students, while every one would be found singing hymns in praise of Gandhi and others of the same school. At the death of Jawahar Lal Nehru the *Jamia* have established a scholarship in his name though neither of the sort have ever been proposed for Mohamed Ali the founder of the institution. The present authorities of *Jamia*, undoubtedly, are right in saying that they serve those who look after them, and in accordance with the Urdu proverb "جس کا کھائیں اس کا گائیں" we have

Destruction of Aligarh—A False Allegation

no grudge to grumble with them.

It is alleged by many of Mohamed Ali's opponents that under the inspiration of Gandhi, he wanted to destory Aligarh College and argue that on the other hand not a single stone was thrown against the Benares Hindu University. This is all due to their ignorance of the real facts or only to find excuses to defame their opponent. In fact, both Muslim and Hind educational institutions were the targets of the non-co-operators and the none was spared. The Benares Hindu University was under the control and clutches of Madan Mohan Malaviya who all along his life had been playing double role; one as a Hindu nationalist (Congressite) and the other as a Hindu orthodx *(Mohasabhite)* and was greatly respected and venerted by the Hindu community, and, it is an admitted fact that even the accredited leader of the Hindus, Gandhiji, could not dare oppose him. In spite of that, which Mohamed Ali was busy at Aligarh, Abul Kalam Azad and Jawaharlal Nehru rushed to attack Benares Hindu University and won over about 400 Hindu students to join a National University, similar to *Jamia Millia Islamia* called *Kashi Vidhya Pith,* Benares. The famous Indian writer, Balu Bhagwan Das elected its first Principal and Sri Parkash as the first secretary. Malaviya with the forceful backing of his community protected the institution and did not give way to non-co-operat-

ors to step in, while contrary to that the Trustees of Aligarh who lacked backing of the Muslim masses against Mohamed Ali had not the courage like Malaviya to face the *Khilafatists*, knocked at the door of the aliealin Rulers to achieve their object under the protection of a police force. What a conrast!

It should also be kept in mind that the Non-co-operation Movement was officially started by the *Mussalmans* (*Khilafat* Committee) long before the Congress adopted it for itself, thus the question of any inspiration from Gandhi does not arise. Further, Mohamed Ali returned from Europe during the month of October, and after two or three weeks' time, in November, he took such a drastic step to start a National University, which could not have been the result of long and serious thinking and planning, It could not be a hasty step and Mohamed Ali could have not been such an inexperienced leader to have taken a hasty step which, surely, had to reflect on his own future and the position he was holding at the time. To understand the real position we have to go back to the days of 1904, when Mohamed Ali presiding over the Presidential Mohammadon Educational Conference at Ahmadabad on October 16, had, in so clear words, stated in the Address presented to Lord Lytton at the Foundation ceremony of the College. That it was the interfair of the Foundors of Aligarh College,

"..... that this College may expand into a Univer-

sity, whose sons shall go forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to preach the the gospel of free enquiry, of large-hearted toleration and of a pure morality. From the seed which we sow today there may spring up a mighty tree whose branches, like those of the banyan of the soil, shall in their turn strike firm roots into the earth, and themselves send forth new and vigorous saplings." Address. P-3

And further added:-

"Even a casual observer of affairs cannot fail to see that we in India expect evey-thing to be done by the Government. **Ages of autocratic control have destroyed all initiative in the people and next to a benevolent Providence, we have come to regard our King, 'Shadow of God', as the universal supplier of wants**

These were the dayss of 1904, and no one dared to accuse Mohamed Ali as a political convert to Congress ideals or that of Gandhi's when even the name of Gandhi was not in the air. Mohamed Ali's main object rooted in his mind was an independent education not only for other communities residing on the soil of India. The said Address points out:

"The *Mussalmans* are not the only subjects of His Majesty, and if the facilities which we require were provided for us, it would be an injustice

if similar special facilities were not provided for the Hindus, the Christians, the Parsees and the Budhists. In short, the kind of education which we desire to provide for the future generations of *Mussalmans*, and which we hope the Hindoos also will provide for their prosterity, is exactly one of those things which a neutral Government can never give us. What it can do is to encourage popular enterprise in the matter, and to help it with all the resources such as money and expert advice which it has at its command."

And stressing the need of independent education he went on to say:

"It is not possible, even if it be desirable, for a neutral Government to provide a course of instruction, say, in that portion of history of Astronomy with which the Saracens are intimately connected. The importance of the subject is only historical, and *Mussalmans* alone are likely to be interested in it. To any one who desires to glide down the main stream, these backwaters are neither attractive, nor originally accessible. Yet they have, neglected as they generally are, strenge fascination for those who have a world of memories floating thereon." Speeches P.14/15.

University of own Choice

In short, Mohamed Ali wanted a system of educa-

tion which could afford Muslims opportunities to the same indepently and to the best of their requirements and needs. To achieve this object he fought to establish a Muslim University with powers of affiliation, as narrated in previous pages, but being not successful in his endavours, he planned to start another institution of his own choice long before he was sent behind the bars first time. Admittedly he could chalk out schemes better than many educational experts. Sir Syed before finalising his scheme had gone to England to study the educational system there while Mohamed Ali had gained experience by residing in the Indian and Foreign educational institutions, as he himself narrates:

> 'To appreciate the justice of the camparison one must need to have lived the life of each of these institutions in turn; and if I may claim some thing for myself, I can claim, I hope justly, and intimate personal acquaintance with all the three institutions. I began my school career at a neutral college; broke the continuity of that insipid existence, of which the most exciting episodes were free fights between the Hindus and the *Mussalmans* with the help of mercenary auxiliaries from the city *badmashes*, by joining Aligarh; and after eight years of varies pleasures, found my self, as if my a dream-like transition causes no surprise, wearing the cap and gown of that

an Oxford Commoner, and breathing in the fuller freer atmosphere of an English University Town."
P-19/20

And further adds:

"The weakest point of the India of to-day is not its ignorance or its unintellectuality, but its want of character. Indian reformers of education as a rule insist on the provision of institutions for Research in Literature, Philosophies, and science but none save Syed Ahmad put his fingure on the sore spot by insisting on CHARACTER rather than on LEARNING. There is very little in the Aligarh of to-day to distinguish it from other colleges except *its residential life which is quite unique in India. For Syed Ahmad's ideal was a* GENTLEMAN than a SCHOLAR."

With these said views, long before Non-Cooperative Movement, Mohamed Ali consulted and debated, the educational scheme thoroughly with the elder brother, Shaukat Ali. Shaukat Ali had collected tons of money for the Muslim University and had given a new life to the Old Boys' Association, and since he was elected as its Secretary, he had devoted himself wholeheartedly to create and revice a spirit of love and devotion among the Old Boys and bring them closer to each other. He managed so erect a beautiful building of the Association itself, generally known the Old Boys' Lodge and thus had an independent and a separate home for the Old Boys.

An interesting monthly magzine under the name of 'Old Boy' was started by him. Many attempts have been made by his fellow Old Boys to publish a similar paper under different names but none could produce any of the kind.

Along with Shaukat Ali, he discussed the scheme with other friends such as Malik Hassan Hayat, generally known Lord Hayat, a teacher in English School, Abdur Rahman Bijnori, a graduate and scholar of repurte Prince Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal and several others. The scheme was finalised and it was proposed that an independent College be started at Dehra Dun, at the foot of Mussoorie Hills where the climate or seasons are neither very hot nor very cold and the schorching breeze called *'loo'* does not pass that way. famous scholar of Aligarh, Abdur Rahman Bijnori was to be appointed its First Principal; and as regards the finances Prince Hamidullah Khan, who had great regard for the Ali Brothers, promised to induce his learned mother, Her Highness the Begum of Bhohpal, to patronise with decent grants, for the recurring and non-recurring expenditures. The Ali Brothers were themselves in a position to collect sufficient funds from their friends, admirers and the public. The proposed Institution was to be affiliated with the University of Allahabad but unfortunately, the organisers got a serious set-back from the Government under the pretentions of some existing Rules under which the proposed Institution could not be affiliated with the University. The whole

scheme fell to the ground and there appeared no other course except to put it in cold-storage for the time being, atleast.

Participating in the above scheme, Prince Hamidullah Khan lost all grace with the British authorities and was 'Blacklisted', so to say. The Britishers did not like his association with the Ali Brothers. The result was that after the death of his elder brother, Colonel Obaidullah Khan, the heir apparent, when Her Highness wanted to nominate her younger son, Prince Hamidullah, the British authorities refused to accept him as lawful successor and proposed a son of the deceased Obaidullah Khan to be nominated. Her Highness had long discussion with the Indian Government but failed to convince the Viceroy. Her Highness undertook a long journey to England, impressed the Home Government and returned successful. Prince Hamidullah Khan was nominated as heir apparent and on the death of his mother so ably occupied the *gaddi* and proved himself one of the best rulers of his time and his services in connection with the Freedom Movement of India shall remain ever glittering on the pages of the History.

There may be difference of opinion on launching the Non-co-operation Movement, but sure, there could have been no two views on the principle that, once one is wedded to a Movement and has accepted it in the interest of the object for which it has been started, it

becomes a sacred bounded duty of one to loyally stand by it and sacrifice all to achieve success without any mental reservation. Similarly, when once Mohamed Ali had accepted the principle of Non-co-operation and had joined the Movement it was rightly expected of him to do his best to make the Move a success, caring but littile for the results or end. Though the Non-co-operation Movement was officialy launched in his absence, during the days he was leading the *Khilafat* Delegation in Europe yet after his return it had become his first duty to lead the Movement, and when the question of boycotting the aided educational institutions came up, Mohamed Ali, took keen interest and tried his best to convince those who were running aided institutions, including the controllers of the Aligarh College to join hands with him. The demi-gods of Aligarh College not only refused to co-operate but standing on the crutches supplied by the British opposed him and thus failed to honour the national aspirations. Mohamed Ali left them where they were and started another institution of his own but that was not tolerated by the Trustees as well as the ruling authorities. The *Khilafatists* did not like to give fight to the Trustees and never led any army of the *Khilafat* Volunteers to destroy the Aligarh College, to spoil its property or to drag the students by force to join the new institution, the *Jamia;* rather those were the Trustees who under the tyrannical Police force had pushed out the Ali Brothers and their comrades from the

Old Boys Lodge or the University campus. In fact, the Trustees' courage had failed and they had no gutts to face the masses, they took protection under the British bayonets but the Non-co-operators remained on the march ignoring all ups and downs of the way.

Mohamed Ali as narrated above, had since long a Scheme of his own for imparting independent education to the Muslim youth according to the national aspirations and needs. We launched the scheme and the College which was to be established at Mussorie Hills took its birth at Aligarh under the name of *Jamia Millia Islamia*. Refering to Aligarh College of these days Mohamed Ali writes.

> "Aligarh did produce a fine amalgam of the East and the West in many things; and in spite of its progress in Western science and literature, it maintained the communal pride that often often acted as an effective motive to right conduct on the part of its *alumni*. But it must be confessed that it furnished them with precious little equipment in the matter of their knowledge of their faith. They were progressive enough, and they were proud enough of their faith; but they were, alas, far too ignorant of it, and their pride in it did not therefore help them much in order to avoid repelling Muslim parents...... Speeches p-415

And dealing with the necessity of creating a new institution he adds :

"It was this state of affairs which the organisers of the *Jamia Millia Islamia*, or the National Muslim University of Aligarh set out to reform. For this purpose an intimate knowledge of the Holy *Quran* was considered an indispensable foundation. Therefore at every start provision was made for an intelligent study of the Word of God. So that even those members of Muslim Society who, for various reasons, economic and other, were not able to continue their studies beyond the primary stage, should have read the Holy *Quran*, not only in the original Arabic, but also in the interlinear Urdu or other vernacular translation thereof.

(Speeches. p-416)

A Few Excerpts from Jamia's Curriculum

Below we reproduce, in a concise form, the curriculum or the plan under which the *Jamia* was and had to be run. The said plan in the words of Mohamed Ali runs as under :

The proposed plan was that soon after a child became familiar with the Arabic and Urdu chara cters he should be taught the last few short chapters of the *Quran* not only in Arabic, but also in their Urdu or other vernacular Translation, and that the prayers contained in *Namaz* shuld be taught in the same manner, so that even a child of seven would not offer his prayers without under standing what he was repeating. Similarly it was

proposed that by the time a child finished his primary education approximately at the age of 12 or 13, and finished the *Quran-i-Sharif* in Arabic, he should also have finished its interlinear Urdu or other vernacular translation. This meant that he would not only finish at the age the reading of the *Quran*, as at present but also the *Nazira* reading of a fairly large-sized Urdu and other vernacular book which however would happen to be the translation of the Holy *Quran*.

But at this stage, as has already been stated, this much only was not considered to be enough. It was, therefor, proposed that in the last three years of the primary stage a boy should be taught Arabic as he is often taught English at present. It is true that even with improved methods of teaching a child of ten is not likely to acquire in three years more than a very elementary knowledge of a foreign language. But it was hoped that, in addition to his elementary knowledge of Arabic, his reading of the *Quran* and its translation side by side for full five years or more would enable him to pick up at leat so much of Arabic as would create in him an interest and fervour in reading his Scriptures with the assistance of the interlinear translation. It is this interest and fervour that was sought to be created, and it was feared that it could not be done by any method other than the one proposed in the

scheme under reference.

In the secondary stage, which was to include as much education as is generally imported in the intermediate classes of present-day colleges. The study of Arabic was made compulsory with the same object in view; and therefore it was proposed that in these five years, ending with the 17th year of a young man's life, the students should be taught the entire *Quran-i-Sharif* as the only text-book of Arabic, together with a number of select *Hadises*, and that at the same time they should learn Arabic as a living language so as to be able to speek and write it at least like intermadiate students speaking and writing English at present. It was proposed that only so much grammar as was absolutely necessary should be taught and that the method of teaching it should be reversed, the student being made to deduce the rules of grammer inductively from several examples of the correct use of the Arabic language,· rather than deductively to form correct sentences after first mastering the rules of grammer.

At this stage it was proposed to teach any other Arabic prose as in the first place the object was not so much the study of the language as attainment of an intimate knowledge of the *Quran-i-Sharif*, and in the next place, a study

of Quran was thought ample at this stage even for the acquisition of a knowledge of the Language. Nevertheless it was proposed that a few hundred select verses should also be taught to familiarise the student with the Arabic poetry.

It was hoped that such a study of Quran as was proposed would make a young man a far better Muslim, and would enable him to know his religion far more intimately than the study of Theology through other text-books, but it was not intended that other knowledge of Muslim Theology should not be imparted.

What was proposed in the primary stage was, firstly, practical instruction in Islamic Ritual imparted orally by the teacher, and secondly instruction by means of lessons with regard to the beliefs and commandments of Islam to be incorporated in the vernacular "Readers" which would include other instruction ln Islamic history and elementary scientific information embodied in a popular form.

It was proposed to teach *Aqa'id Fiqh* relating to *Ibadat*, *Akhlaq* and *Seerat* in this manner so that they could he easily assimilated by a growing child at an early stage. The religious instruction generally imparted at present seldom goes beyond elementary *Fiqh* relating to *Ibadat*, and that too

is imparted in a manner which kills all interest for it in the student, and makes it a drudgery. Instead of that it was proposed that lessons in the Urdu "Readers" should be skilfully prepared with requisite literary grace so that they could unobtrusively and almost imperceptibly familiarise a Muslim child with correct Muslim beliefs and with the main commandments of his faith, preferably with a short history of these commandments in order to explain their gradual development, and thus impress on the student their special need. These lessons were also to incorporate leading incidents from the *Seerat* of the Prophet and of his immediate successors, and from Islamic history, not only with a view to impart necessary and correct information on these subjects, but also with a view to impress upon the mind of a child that it was because Muslims outside this small circle will soon come to approximate to the clergy and the laity in other communities. Our decline is largely due to this departure from Islam as preached and practised in its earliest days, Islam without latter-day accretions and in all its pristine purity.

In the secondary stage, and also in the university stage, *Fiqh, Aqai'd* and *Street* were proposed to be taught as distinct subjects and not merely in the Urdu "Readers" But the lectures were to

be oral, and it was proposed that, as far as possible, text-books should be avoided. Text-books were to be generally for the guidance of the teacher him-self, so that the present day stagnation might be remedied, and reliance on the original sources of authority rather on latter-day compliations might be encouraged.

It would be manifest from all that has gone above that a much greater emphasis was being laid on religious teaching than had ever been attempted in any national institution where secular instruction is also imparted. But it was hoped that the method suggested would be an improvement upon that which was pursued for religious instructions even in institutions solely devoted to the study of Theology.

In the university stage, provision had been made for a school of Islamic studies, in which a young Muslim, who had acquired as much secular knowledge as is now obtained in colleges teaching up to the intermadiate standard could pursue a study of *Tafsir*, *Hadis* and *Fiqh* with the *usool* of each of these of *Aqa'id* and *Kalam* and of *Seerat*, and the History of Islam with requisite study of Geography, and at the end of this course, at the age of twenty or thereabouts, could be considered qualified to be a religious teacher *Maulvi*, and at the same time be acknowledged to possess as

much culture in the modern sense of the word as any gr duate of any European university. He could proceed thereafter to a doctorate for which a thesis on any subject included in any of the main head of religious knowledge detailed above was to be required. This would, it was thought, for the first time bring under one roof secular and religious learning with undoubted benefit to both, and remove that estrangement between the two which had resulted in sterilising religious learning and making secular learning soulless and godless.

Next to the religious aspect of education on which much greater stress has now been laid than ever before, it is to be emphasised that the absurd and slavish idea of imparting instructions in the various branches of knowledge through the refractory mediumof a foreign language must be whollydiscarded. The study of English is to be retained as an optional subject in the secondary stage, and it is desirable that for sometime to come a large number of school students should continue to learn that language from the age of thirteen. But it must be entirely rmoved from the pirmary stage, and in no case must it be the medium of instruction, though it may for some time be necessary to retain European terminology in the case of certain branches of science.

Permission must, however, be given to school students in the secondary stage to study any Europeag languages. French and German would also be taught side by side with English in these secondary schools.

But the study of Asiatic languages is not to be neglected. In the first place the study of vernaculars, and of Hindi where Urdu is the vernacular, and of Urdu where Urdu is not the vernacular, though in view of the relative strength of the vernaculars at present and of our present need, for some time to come the degree should be awarded in the vernaculars in any subject approved by the university. This would enocurage the preparation of new books which are greatly in demand, among others, for educational purposes.

Apart from the compulsory study of the vernaculars, and the use of the vernaculars as the medium of instruction in every stage, provision must be made for the study of anAsiatic language other than one's own vernacular as an optional subject in schools. In the university stage provision must be made for degree in Arabic, Persian, (both language and literature) and as the reward of merely *linguistic* attainments in any *two* oriental languages other than Arabic, Persian and, of course, one's own vernacular.

Since a foreign language is to be discarded as the medium of instruction, it is confidently expected that the students would both attain deeper knowledge and cover a larger surface of it in the same number of years than they do at present in the existing schools and colleges.

Throughout a student's career he should pursue one or more vocations, so that in few years Indian students may entirely get rid of the present financial helplessness and dependence upon employment as clerks or other low-paid employees in the public service. No educated lad should be able to justify, as so many do at present, his slavish dependence upon Government service, on the ground that he has no qualifications other than those required for a clerkship. It is not necessary that in after-life he should pursue the vocation that he has studied in school or college. But this vocational knowledge is there if it is ever required to provide for his maintenance; and there is no reason why, after having received such literary and cultural education as these schools and colleges will provide, a student should not organise a fairly large business of catering or tailoring, laundry or smithy. An educated man with practical knowledge of his vocation is expected, even with a very small capital, and in fact even with none at all save his own labour, to build up a fair business in

course of time.

Besides this obvious utility, pursuit of vocational studies would impress the educated youth with the dignity and importance of labour, and also remove that estrangement that exists at present between the educated classes and the masses dependent upon vocation. And apart from improving the chances of a student in after-life, this vocational study will also be sure to result in the progress of the vocations them-selves, for an educated and cultured man will not be content with mere imitation, but will soon proceed to improve and invent It is not to be understood that this vocational study is to be any substitute for Technical Education. The step that is indicated here is merely one of supplementing literary education with vocational training which is likely to take more than a few hours a week of the student's time. But a few hours a week which will be no additional tax on the already fagged brain, but would rather provide much needed relaxation, will help an educated young man in the course of 11 to 14 years to be a proficient workman well able to earn his bread even with the sweat of his brow.

Reading Gandhi Conspiracy

RAMRAJIA AND BRITISH RAJ — COMMON CAUSE:

WITHIN a surprising short time, after joining the Indian National Congress, Mohomed Ali had achieved a phenomenal popularity and prominence among the topmost leaders of the sub-continent. His undaunted fight for freedom, his zeal for Hindu-Muslim unity, his courage and sincerity, his selfless service and regard for co-workers and adherence to his principles brought him the coveted national honour of becoming the second most popular leader of India after Gandhi. In view of the conditions prevailing in the country he considered it to be his foremost duty to unite the peoples of India completely, ignoring the question of caste, creed or colour and to prepare them to struggle for the freedom of heir fatherland by breaking the shackless of slavery for ever. Mohamed Ali's increasing popularity and rapidly rising reputation and the veneration he commanded from his countrymen aroused the jealousy and fury of the Congress specially those who were the ringleaders of the Hindu *Mahasbha*. They considered that the Muslims as alien with no

right to remain on the soil of India, and therefore, they treated them as untouchables. Even those who were highly educated and enlightened were not ready to give any credit to a national which had ruled over them for more than eight centuries, and under whose rules they were free to preserve and promote their religion, culture and identity and equal share in the prosperity of the country. Though a section of the Congressites, which realy stood for the liberty of their country, supported Mohamed Ali, the overwhelming majority of the Hindu *Mahasabha* view, rendered only lip sympathy and inwardly they wanted to exploit the slogan of Hindu-Muslim unity only to the extent of establishing their own religious domination, which the shamelessly styled as *Ram Rajya.*

The British Government which had all along been prefidiously pursuing the policy of 'Divide and Rule' could not bear to see the emergence of a united Indian front to struggle for the achievement of their national birth-right. The British knew the mind of Mohamed Ali and the aims and objects for which he had joined forces with the Congress organisation. They tried to kill him politically by keeping him behind the bars for years; yet whenever he got an opportunity he reappeared to resume his holy war against the authorities and other idealogical enemies, with greater vigour, vehemence and vitality.

Indomitable Spirit

Though many of the Congress leaders at that time pretended to work shoulder to shoulder with Mahamed Ali, who was holding the highest position in the political life of the country, he was an eyesore to them. These elements know that unless they removed him from their path they could never succeed in their evil designs. In this respect the *Mahasabha* and the Government were both sailing in the same boat. Mohamed Ali believed in human brotherhood and from the very start of his political career he was propagating the same cause. He, as a true Muslim, was a lover of freedom, not only for the Muslims but for all the enslaved nations of the world. His main aim was welfare of the human race which could not be achieved without freedom. He was against all forms of subservience and subordination. He could not for a moment tolerate the yoke of slavery. His conviction, as Omer the Great, the *Caliph*, said was "Every child is born free", and this inspired him to fight for their emancipation. And he fought for the cause till his last breath.

He served the nation and the country, with all sincerity, and was mainly responsible for awakening the sulumbering masses of India. It was his effort that brought the arms-chairs politicians into the world of action. The very people who were previously accustomed to pass resolutions and submit memorandums and petitions, emerged on the public platform, vehemently

criticising the Government and offering sacrifices for the freedom of their country. He infused a new spirit in the country and converted even Gandhi to support the Muslim cause. The Government and the *Mahasabhites* for their on pernicious reasons, began to plot the defeat of Mohamed Ali. There was only one weapon in the enemy armoury to attack the personality of Mohamed Ali and that was to brand him as a 'Communalist', in view of his intense religious outlook of life. Caste-ridden narrow-minded Hindu leadership conjured up the imaginery dread of Muslim domination to demolish Mohamed Ali's towering image. To them real domination by the British was acceptable but they could not tolerate the prospect of co-existing with them on equal and respectable terms.

Gandhi was a sincere Hindu leader and could well realize the dangers towards which the opponents of Hindu-Muslim unity were leading the country, but unfortunately he lacked moral courage to face the Hindu *Mahasabha* and other Hindu leaders like Madan *Mohan Malaviya of the same bent of mind.* The British authorities, as has already been pointed out, woult not lag behind the *Mahasabha* so far as Mohamed Ali or his co-workers were concerned. To the British, any Muslim believing in the spirit of Islamic brotherlood was an arch enemy of the British Raj and a permanent danger to British hegemony. Mohamed Ali was an

outstanding spokesman of world Muslim brotherhood. How could he be forgiven?

"Conspiracy" with Afghanistan –A Cock And Bull Story

During the first world war when Mohamed Al was interned at Chhindwara, a story was deliberately invented to the effect that he had written a letter to the Amir of Afghanistan inviting him to invade India. Undue publicity was given to the fabricated story to create hatred and had blooк between the Hindus and Muslims. Mohamed Ali on hearing of this falincation challenged the Government to publish the alleged letter which the Government claimed to have in its possession. The Government failed to produce it as it was absolutely non-existent. However, the propaganda sponsored by the authorities and backed by the *Mahasabha* and the Hindu press succeeded in creating misunderstanding and a majority of Hindu leaders exploited the issue in their own interest. Once again, after the Third Afghan War, when the Afghan Peace Mission was at work and when the national movement in India was in full swing under the subsence command of another false story was spread saying that a spy from Kabul had visited many Indian leaders with the object of inducing the Indians to side with the *Amir* of Afghanistan in case he invaded India. Words to the effect that the Indian Muslims would join if *Jehad* (Holy war) was prolaimed by the *Amir*, were put in the mouth of Mohamed Ali.

Hatched as the conspiracy was on the high hills of Simla, the Anglo-Hindu Press was in arms. The LEADER and PIONEER of Allahabad and the PARTAP of Lahore set the ball rolling with the deliberate intention of driving a wedge between Mohamed Ali and Gandhi on the question of Hindu Muslim unity. This news caused such a penic that a prominent Congress leader, Lajpatrai of Lahore, who could have easily asertained Mohamed Ali's views came out with lengthy articles in his daily, *Bande Mataram*, condemning the alleged attitude of the Muslims that they would side with the Afghan invaders in case a *Jehad* was proclaimed. Several other Hindu Leaders shamelessly exploited the situation and Bipan Chandra Pal, an emminent writer, went even to the extent of charging Gandhi with being subservisnet to Mohamed Ali. The forces ranged against Hindu-Muslim unity became fully active. In Simla, from 1919 to 1922, 'Gandhi and *Khilafat* were the two 'bogies' of which in Indian authorities were in a mortal terror" writes Sir M. O. Dwyer in his book, INDIA AS I KNEW IT.

Muslim First and Every thing else afterwards

Mohamed Ali could not remain unmoved indefinately. In the first fortnight of May, 1921 he fired the first retaliatery shot:

"I am a Muslim first and every thing else afterwards: just as I believe that Mahatma Gandhi

is Hindu first and every thing else afterwards. All that Islam demands from me is that I should not live in a land where I could not follow the dictates of my religion with impunity, and it is just because *Swaraj* will give me that and the present British authcracy does not that I yearn for *Swaraj* and regards its attainment as a religious duty."

And added that he was not bound to answer all the questions put forward by the newspapers, but assured them that there had been no correspondence whatsoever of any kind between him and the *Amir* nor did he know anything about the Afghan spies.

Gandhi's Suspicious Attitude

This unholy attempt to create a split and undermine Hindu-Muslim unity did not seem to succeed in the beginning. The position and prestige of Mohamed Ali was unaffected, rather it was considerably increaseed. He was unanimously elected to preside over the Allahabad District Conference held on May 11, 1921, which was attended by Congress leaders from all over India giving it the colour and importance of the all India session. Mohamed Ali spoke extempore as usual, and took to task all those who were out to disunite the nation and were instrumental in making the bonds of slavery tighter than ever. But, inspite of all the rebuffs the anti-Mohamed Ali forces remained violently active. Lies, each bigger than the other, were invented

and a number of Angle-Indian and Hindu papers continously painted him in burid colours to suit their own morbid taste. They were in agreement in describing Mohamed Ali as an arch communalist. In this poisonous campaign, Madam Mohan Malaviya played the leading part. He met the Viceroy of India to pave the way for Reading-Gandhi interview and induced Gandhi to apply for the same, which no one could expect from a leader of the standing of Gandhi, who was at the head of the Non-cooperation Movement.

However, Gandhi had an interview with Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India. Secret parleys took place, and the Viceroy or Gandhi did not consider it necessary to issue any statement, concerning this concerning this underhand affair. When Gandhi was asked to disclose as to what had transpired at the interview, he declared at a public meeting that he was not ready to consider the matter or like to have any discussion on it.

Gandhi tried to evade the question as to why he sought an interview while believing in non-cooperation as leader of the movement. The reply naturally gave rise to suspicions and his attitude remained under a coloudy for many days, while every one was eager to find as to what had been decided at the Viceregal Lodge. Wild suggestions and deductions appeared the Press; but Gandhi kept quiet, as was his habit. Then in due course he exerled pressure on the Ali Brothers and hinted that some of their speeches had a

touch of violence. He also said it would be in the interest of the nation and the movemnt if they clarified the position. No reference to the Viceroy's interview was made. These upon the outspoken Ali Brothers, who had confidence in Gandhi, issued the following statement ;

> Friends have drawn our attention to certain speeches of ours, which in their opinion, have a tendency to incite to violence. We desire to state that we never intended to incite the violence. and we never imagined that any passages in our speeches were cable of bearing the interpretation put upon them, but we recognise the force of our friends' argument and interpretation. We therefore, sincerely feel sorry and express our regret for the unnecessary heat of some of the passages in these speeehes and we give our public assurance and promise to all who may require it that so long we are associated with the movement of non-cooperation, we shall not directly or indirectly advocate violence at present or in the future nor create an atmosphere of preparedness for violence. Indeed, we hold it contrary to the spirit of non-violence non-cooperation to which we have pledged our word."

Government Communique—Position More Confused

The Ali Brothers' statement in the Press with date-line of May 29, 1921. The anti-national Press was up in arms condenming the Ali Brothers and a few nationalist papers even alleged that the Brothers had surrendered to the Viceroy to save themselves from prison life. The Ali Brothers had not yet seen the comments of the papers, when the Government on the very next day, May 30, issued a Press note making the position more confused. The Press note referred to the Ali Brothers' statement, saying :

> "In view of the publication of these expressions of regret and promises for the future, the Government of India desire to make it know generally that they had decided on the 6th May to prosecute Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali for certain speeches delivered in the United Provinces during the last few months. These speeches in the opinion of the Government of India were directly incitements to violence. Ths immediate object of the Government in determining to enforce the law on the present occasion incitements to violence and to preserve order. After the dicision to which refrence has been made was reached, it was urged on the Government that their immediate object could be obtained without recourse to the criminal courts. The Govern-

ment consequently suspended further action, and in view of the statement now issued over signatures of Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali, have decided to refrain from instituting criminal proceedings against them in respect of these speeches so long as the solemn public undertaking contained in the statement issued to the press is observed Should the conditioon of this undertaking not be performed, the Government of India will be at liberty to prosecute them for their past speeches. It must not be inferred from thh original determination of the Government to prosecute for speeches inciting to violence that promoling disaffection of a less violent character is not an offence against the law. The Government of India desire to make it plain that they will enforce the law relating to offences against the State as and when they may think fit against any person who have committed breaches of it."

And again on the same day, May 30, Lord Reading, addressing a dinner party at Chelmsford Club, Simla, cleared the position saying that Malaviya had met him and left an impression that he 'would like me to see Mr. Gandhi', and further added :

"......the consequence was that, in due course, Mr. Gandhi did apply and there was not only one interview but several interviews between us. There was no fineness or manoeuvre about it;

seemed to be a plain and straightforward arrangement for an interview. Here again, I think, I am not quite as free to tell you all that you might desire to know (laughter), yet I will say that I am quite certain that the result of these interviews produced at least this satisfactory result that I got to know Mr. Gandhi and he got to know me. The result may be somewhat vague and indefinite, yet it is not entirely so. The result of these discussions was that Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali have issued a public pronouncement, expressing their sincere regret for certain speeches that they had made inciting to violence and have given a solemn public undertaking that they will not repeat these speeches or similar speeches, so long as they remain associated with Mr. Gandhi. So far as the Government is concerned we achieved our immediate object......"

Non-Violance A Policy not creed

The Press not and the Viceroy's speech placed Gandhi and also the Ali Brothers in a compromising position. The Viceroy's declaration that Gandhi "did apply" that he and Ali Brothers were discussed during the interview made Gandhi's position still more puzzling. A split was in sight in Congress ranks. The Hindu-Muslim unity seemed to be at the breaking point, specially with the Press began gloating over the humiliation of the Ali Brothers. When the Ali Brothers

read the Press note and the Viceroy's speech, naturally they were perturbed and perplexed. Shaukat Ali was so upset that he wanted to break all ties with Gandhi, yet Mohamed Ali, who was not as practical-minded as the Big Brother, in the greater interest of the country pacified Shaukat Ali laying all blame on Malaviya, who in his opinion had misled the Mahatma. But the reinous Gandhi-Reading conspiracy was of such magnitude that even Mohamed Ali, so passionately devoted to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity at all cost, could not remain silent any longer.

On June 2, two days after the Viceroy's speech MohomedAli while presiding over the Provincial *Khilafat* Conference at Baroch, in a rejoinder declared that "the non-violence was their policy and not creed" and that he knew of no speech of his or of his brother in which they had incited any one to cnmmit an act of violence. He also declared that neither they nor any one else on their behalf had ever dreamt of **bargaining** with the Government and emphasied that:

> "While our present policy coincided entirely with creed of Mahatma Gandhi and those who like him believe in *Ahimsa* alone for all times, our creed does not entirely coincide with the Mahatma's but permitted the use of force in self-defence and under certain circumstances may make the use of such force obligatory."

In his opinion the current movement depended exclusively upon the continuance of the spirit of non-violent non-cooperation. So adhering to it he still added:

> "We must exert our right ro take up arms against the enemies of Islam should non-cooperation be found to have failed and should *Jehad* be proclaimed in terms of the law of Islam. No follower of the faith would shirk his clear duty if ever the call comes to him, as it had come to the warrior *Baddus* (bedouins) of responding to the battle-cry of *Jehad*."

Mohamed Ali's views on the non-violent policy can easily be judged from his writing wherein he writes ;

> "We are among those that believe war to be a great evil, but we also believe that there are worse things than war, and that a nation's slavery is one of them." (Speeches P-331)

Never softened towards the Government

While Mohamed Ali was in a pacifying mood, Shaukat Ali categorically demanded that Gandei should issue a full and detailed statement to clarify the position either jointly with the Viceroy or alone. Being hard pressed by Shaukat Ali, Gandhi saw no other course except to hand him over a written statement with a request that it should tot be published unless

the Viceroy declines to issue a similar statement. Mohamed Ali gave a hint to this effect in the following words when delivering his Presidential Address at the famour *Khilafat* Conference held at Karachi, July 8, 1921:

> "We can never apologize to the Government. I have at this moment in my bag a document regarding my statement which I wish were published before I leave Sind. I have no authority to make it public. The Viceroy at a dinner in the Chelmsford Club boasted to have humilated us. But that was a speech at 12 O'clock in the night and the intoxication was away in the morning. If the Viceroy does not agree to a joint statement by Mahatma Gandhi and himself, Mahatmaji would issue a separate statement and let the Viceroy then issue his own."

However, under the heavy pressure of Shaukat Ali, Gandhi ultimately approached the Viceroy, who consented to issue a joint statement which after all appeared on the 30th of July, 1921, clearing the position of the Ali Brothers, but causing greater confusion as to the position of Gandhi. It clearly and unmistakably proved that the Ali Brothers were utterly unaware of all tnat had transpired behind the certain between Gandhi and the Viceroy, and that Gandhi was deceived and deluded by the Reading-Malavia conspiracy. The statement starts with the background how Pandit Malaviya arranged the interview mentioning the topics which had been

discussed. Referring to the statement of the Ali Brothers, the joint statement contained:

> "His Excellency mentioned the names of Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mohamed Ali and promised to show Mr. Gandhi passages in their speeches which, in his opinion, were calculated to incite to violence, and when the passages were actually read to Mr. Gandhi, he admitted that they were capable of bearing the interpretation His Excellency put upon them......Mr. Gandhi added that he would see them (Ali Brothers) as soon as he left Simla and advise them to address publicly their regret for the unintentional incitment contained in the passages. His Excellency thereupon asked whether, in view of the importance of the document, Mr. Gandhi would show him the craft of the statement he intended to advise Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mohamed Ali to publish......Mr. Gandhi readily agreed to show the statement. The draft statement was duly shown by Mr. Gandhi to His Excellency who pointed out that the introduction of certain paragraphs gave the statement the appearance of a menifesto including that of the religious creed of Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mohamed Ali. Tha Viceroy observed further that the statement was incomplete insofar as it did not contain a promise to refrain in future from speeches inciting to violence......Mr. Gandhi agreed

to delete the paragraph in question and added a passage to cover promises of future conduct. His Excellency then informed Mr Gandhi that if Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mohamed Ali signed the statement as then altered by Mr. Gandhi, with the addition of the promise at to future conduct, steps would be taken to suspend the institution of proceedings and that no prosecution would take place so long as promises given in the published statement were observed......Mr. Gandhi agreed that the statement should be published without delay. Mr. Gandhi then left simla and some days afterwards telegraphed to His Exellency that Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mohamed Ali had signed the statement, with an immarterial alteration and sent to the press for publication......"

The Reading-Gandhi joint statement clearly revealed that Mr. Gandhi had actually requested for an interview and the question of legal proceedings against the Ali Brothers were thoroughly discussed. Gandhi had given his words that a statement signed by the Ali Brothers would be published, and that the draft of the statement was prepared, corrected and approved by the Viceroy. Gandhi came down from Simla and met the Ali Brothers but did not disclose the secret parleys. He only informed the Ali Brothers that as some of the Congress workers had considered that their speeches contained a tendency towards violence it would be advisable for the Brothers to issue a statement that

they neither meant nor desired to preach violence. Having confidence in him the Brothers willingly accepted the suggestion and no presenting the proposed draft Gandhi asked them to sign. Being a man of trustful nature, Mohamed Ali would have signed the document without hesitation, but the Big Brother who was cautioned read it carefully and made some alterations. A sentence which read; "we recognise that certain passages in our speeches are capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them", was substituted by Shaukat Ali with, "we never imagined that any passages in our speeches were scapable of bearing the interpretation put upon them." This change in the sentence was referred to in the telegram addressed to the Viceroy by Gandhi as "immaterial alteration"

Referring to the above episode Sir M. O. Dwyer writes :

> "The object of the negotiation was, through Gandhi's influence, to induce the Ali Brothers, against whom a prosecution was pending to give up the seditious agitation they had carried on since their illtimed release by Mr. Montagu in 1919." IAINI p-397.

"New Trap"

The Government and Malaviya utterly failed in their intrigues and machinations to create a split between the Ali Brothers and Gandhi. Mohamed Ali being convinced that whatever Gandhi had done was done in good

faith, did not like to quarrel with him and injure the cause of freedom and of the Islamic world by losing the support of Hindu which he had so ably securod. The Govenment could not remain reconciled to the new development. It was immediately on the move to undo what the Ali Brothers had achieved with the cooperation of the Congress, and what the Hindus had gained with the help of the Ali Brothers. A new trap was laid and the Ali Brothers along with some of their friends and co-workers were arrested resulting in the official drama of the "Great Karachi Trial", staged at the Khaliqdina Hall, Karachi. There the nationol Heroes were sentenced to two years hard labour. The story will be narrated in another Chapter.

The Great Farcical Trial At Karachi (I)

ON RETUNN FROM EUROPE

"In October 1920, I was back in India," writes Mohammed Ali, "but my wife and children soon found it was not to my home that I was returned. Mahatma Gandhi, my brothers and I were consequently on move touring all over India and I can hardly remember two or three consecutive days during many months in which I was in one place. The railway train became my home as it had become my brother's when I had left for Europe." M. L. A. F. P/198

IN short, after returning from Europe, Mohamed Ali was forced to lead the unsettled and strenuous life of a wanderer, residing in the house-on-wheels, the railway trains, and was constantly shunted from one place to another. He visited every nook and corner of the country and inspired the peoples of India to stand upright and keep the struggle for freedom alive. The Indi ns since the promulgation of the Rowlett Act, enactment of the massacre at Jillianwala Bagh and clamping down of the Martial Law all over the

country, were bravely facing the attacks and the atrocities of the Government. The Muslims supported by the Hindus were in the forefront of the battle. Both of the Brothers, joining forces with Gandhi, were at the height of their fighting form and their name were on the lips of all men, women, young, old and eve little children. Practically the Brother were dominating the political situation of the country, and Gandhi the accredited leader of the Hindus was almost at the beck and call of Shaukat Ali, as astute Gandhi himself had so often admitted.

Background of the great judicial farce

"We passed several months......flitting from place to place and province to province," writes Mohd. Ali, "tourning with Mahatma Gandhi and a small party of fellow-workers and secretaries and on the 14th September, 1921, I was arrested at the railway station of Waltair, when we were travelling on our way to Madras and the distrubed area of Malabar." "The arrest at Waltair," he further adds, "on a warrant notifying that the Magistrate of the District which I had never before even visited, demanded security from me for good behavour and keeping the peace, as events subsequently proved, only an expedient to detain me pending the arrival of another warrant from far-off Karachi, and before I could reach Madras, not to mention Malabar, I was lodged in the local

goal and three days later the proceedings were withdrawn, only to enable the police Officer from the Bombay Presidency to arrest me on the Karachi warrant as I came out of the goal. This fresh warrant had been issued because of a resolution passed at a *Khilafat* Conference held at Karachi over which I had presided."

(M. L. A. F. pp. 199-200)

The background of this episode and that of the famous Karachi Trial can briefly be described as under.

The All India *Khilafat* Conference opened at Karachi on July 8, 1921, and remained in session for three days under the able guidance of Mohamed Ali and emerged as a major episode of historical importance as it had set the ball of the Non-co-operation rolling even among the Indian Army and Police, Maulvi Mohammed Siddiq, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered a fiery address dealing with the prevailing situation in the country and abroad, exhorting the Muslims to sacrifice their all for the *Khilafat* and the cause of the country, in a true Islamic spirit. He was followed by the President of the Conference, Mahamed Ali, who in a lengthy and forceful presidential address appealed to the Muslims in particular and the non-Muslims in general to unite together in order to smash the chains of slavery, which were the root causes of all the ills which had to be fallen to the Muslim world and India. He openly declared that in case the Gover-

nment failed to redress their greivances and did not mend its ways of shamelessly ignoring to honour frequently repeated pledges, it would become obligatory on the Muslim strictly according to the Islamic teachings to non-co-operate with the Government and not to allow a single person to join the Army or the Police to help the Government in other ways as it would be a sinful act. He also referred to the canard spread by the authorities which was wildly and widely circulated regarding the alleged apology tendered by the Ali Brothers to the Government. Mohamed Ali gave the lie to this canard discussed in an earlier chapter by saying:

"We can never apologise to the Government."

The Conference was attended by delegates from all the provinces of India and the leaders remained busy for full three days, labouring day and night, in drafting resolutions, issuing instructions to their subordinates or provincial bodies. The Conferences adopted several resolutions unanimously amidst the deafening cries of *Allah-o-Akbar* (God is the greatest) and "Mohamed Ali Shaukat Ali *Zindabad*". Apart from the resolutions relating to personal or organisational matters the following were of deep and farreaching political importance:

"This meeting of the All India *Khilafat* Conference declared allegiance of the Muslim population to

His Majesty the *Sultan* of Turkey, the Commander of the Faithfull, and gives him an assurance that they would not rest contented until they had secured complete fulfilment of the *Khilafat* demands.

This meeting of the All India *Khilafat* Conference declares that so long as the demands of Indian Muslims regarding the intergrity of the *Khilafat* and the preservation of the sanctity of *Jaziratul-Arab* And other holy places which are based upon their religious canons are not fulfilled, neither shall they rest in peace nor shall they leave it to the enemies of Islam; that the entire provinces of Thrace and Smyrna shall from the indissoluble components of the territories of the Turkish *Sultan*, as they used to be before the war, and in no part of them shall Muslim tolerate the influence and inter ference of the Greeks or any other Power. The Muslims shall never agree to the conditions the Allies wish to impose upon the Turkish Government, or on its military, naval or air-force, or in connection with the financial, economic or judicial administration, as that would tend to interfere with the complete independence of the *Khilafat* and the Sultanate. This Concerence calls upon local committees to make fresh declarations to the above effect so that no doubt be left as to the religious obligation of the Muslims.

Whereas Mesopotamia contains holy places, such as the burial places of the descendents of the Prophet and holy saints, and is, in addittion as integral part of *Jazira-tal-Arab,* the influence, residence or entrance of non-Muslim nationals without the authority of Islamic Power is not permissible by religion, and in case a colonisation of the above character comes about, it would conflict with their holy *Shariat.* The *Musalmans* are convinced that the Armenians would take advantage of their nearness to the holy places and revive their old enmities towards Islam. This Concerence therefore demands that the above country be immediately vacated. This Conference strongly condemns the repression inaugurated by the Government of the Frontier Province in its various districts such as Kohat, and Bannu, its policy of imprisoning of *Khilafat* workers and organizers and refusing admission to the students of the National Muslim University *(Jamia Millia Islamia)* for collection of funds."

And, the screaming farce of the Karachi Trial was based on the following finding of Conference.

"That this meeting of the All India *Khilafat* Conference congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha and his Government on the courage and suffering they put up to save Islam and prays that they may be able to drive the foreigners out

of Turkish territory. It further declares unlawful for any faithful to serve from today in the Army or help or acquiesce to their recruitment. It further decides that if the British Government directly or indirectly, openly or secretly, fights the Angora Government, the Muslims of India will start civil disobedience and establish their complete independence at the next session of the India National Congress to be held at Ahmadabad and hoist the flag of the Indian Republic.

Stage set for the drama

Meanwhile, after the leaders arrested in this connection, namely Maulana Mohamed Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni, Maulana Nisar Ahmed, Pir Ghulam Mujaddid, Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew and Shri Shankeracharya, had spent a few days in jail, the stage for the preplanned drama was set at the Khalikdina Hall, situated in the heart of Karachi. Barbed wire was placed all round the building, armed police and the military had surrounded the Hall, with orders to remain alert; even inside the compound there were about three hundred Indian and British riflebearers, and a machine gun was also fixed on the northern corner of this famous Memorial built in memory of Mr. Ghulam Hussain Khaliqdina in the year 1906. Entry to the Hall, which had been converted into a Court Chamber, was resticted to persons carrying "admit" passes issued by the authorities under the

recommendations of the Police. Among the fortunate few to secure the same were some lawyers, students, influential figures of the city, while the local political workers refused to be present under against some restrictions imposed on them. All this pomp and show and naked display of force indicated that the Government sought to impress upon the general public the imerge of its restige and power, to coerce them not to participate in the national,. Perhaps this was the reason why the drama was enacted in tne jail compound.

The farce start

After the said arrangement were completed it was announced that it would be started on Monday, September 26, 1921, and would continue till all the accused had been fully heard. Indeed it became a form to expose the mockery of British justice on the soil of India. By 11 a.m. on that day the Hall was packed with vistitors, officials and others connected with the play, and the seating arrangements were so made as to leave only one vacant chair for the Magistrate, who entered and occupied the same five minutes after the arrival of the accused. Seven were of-course, reserved for the undertrials, who entrred the Chamber according to the schedule. The Government stenographers were on the left and the *Sarishteder*, a clerk and an Urdu translator on the right of the Magisterial chair. Just below, in front of the dais, on the right of the Magistrate were seated the press reporters, the Public Prosecutor. The Super intendent C. I. D., was in front

of him and the chair for the seven accused were placed on his left, four in the front row and three in the second.

The cries of *Allah-o-Akbar* heralded the arrival of the accused at 11 a.m. They stepped out of the jailvan and as entered the Hall, those present stood in their seats to show their respect including several of the officials. Mohamed Ali was the first to enter the Hall with a copy of the *Holy Qur'an* under his arm, acknowledging the salutations of his admirers. He was followed by Shaukat Ali, who as usual was smiling and waving his hand to the audience. Then there entered Hussain Ahmed Madni in a calm and dignified manner befitting a Muslim divine. Then came the highly repsected Hindu divine, Shri Shanker Achariya holding the traditional staff in his hand. Next came Dr. Saifud-din Kitchlew and Nisar Ahmad smiling, talking and waving their hands in response to the public ovation and last of all Pir Ghulam Mujaddid appeared reciting the *Holy Qur'an*, as if he was unconcerned over what was then going on in the building which had been turned into a veritable citadel of British injustice, inequity perfidy. According to the official arrangements they occupied chairs in two rows. In the front row set Mohamed Ali, Hussain Ahmad Madni, Kitchlew, Shanker Achariya, and in the rear, Nisar Ahmad, Shaukat Ali and Pir Ghulam Mujaddid.

The Corwn was represented by the Public Prosecutor, G. T. Elphinstone, Bar-at-Law, instructed by

Mr. J. C. Curry, Superintendent C.I.D., Sind, and assisted by Mr. Parsran Tolaram, Assistant Public Prosecutor. The accused being non-cooperators did not defend themselves and were not represented by any counsel. The show started at 11.05 a. m. when the Complaint filed by Zaman Shah Hashmi, Deputy Superintendent of Police, against the seven accused was p'aced on the file. The Magistrate then asked each one of the accused to give his name, none replied except Mohamed Ali, who said that the Magistrate had their warrants with him and knew their names well enough, and that as non-co operators they were not to assist the Court in any matter. Similarly he asked the names of their fathers but received no reply except that Shanker Achariya said, "According to *Sanyas* we are not allowed to give the name of our worldly father or any other thing relating to the life before *Sanyas* but we can mention the name of our spiritual father which is Swami Pritam Dev" Then questions regarding their age, profession and addresses were put but accused did not reply.

Thereafter, the Prosecution produced the witnesses to prove the allegations. One by one they entered the Court and continued parrot-like repeating the statements that were taught to them. This examination took full two and a half days. The accused thoroughly enjoyed the show, did the spectators. The accused were daily brought to the Court under heavy guard and sent back to jail in the venings surrounded by the

rifle-bearers. In the afternoon of the third day, September 28, 1921, when there were no more witnesses to appear, Mohamed Ali started making his own statement.

Mohamed Ali Speaks

It was a lengthy and scholarly piece of oration explaining that as a non-cooperator he could not participate in the Court proceedings, and was only allowed by his organisation to make a statement and clear his position, "not with a view to defending ourselves, but to explain such things as might cause confussion to anyone imperfectly acquianted with those facts" He discussed and explained in detail the question of *Khilafat* and profusely quoted the *Holy Qur'an* and the Traditions of the Holy Prophet, showing the obligations under which a Muslim has to live his life It would be interesting to note that the Magistrate from the very start began to interrupt Mohamed Ali, saying that what he was placing before him did not concern the case, Mohamed Ali kept on delivering his statement explaining the position of the Muslims saying that their loyalty to the King was conditional to their being allowed to enjoy religious freedom, which had been promised by Queen Victoria and endorsed by her two successors, King Edward VII and King V. But their Royal Proclamation, he said, had been thrown to the winds when the Government started interfering in their religious affairs in disregard of the letter and spirit of

the Proclamation. The proceedings of the case in which they were involved had proved beyond any doubt that the Proclamation had no bearing on the law of the land and was a meaningless statement. He further added :

> "If Indian *Mussalmans* had more effective force at their command to try conclusions with the Government, they would have been obliged today, by the Islamic law, if they chose to remain *Mussalmans*, to declare Holy War against it, and this dispute of our would have been in the course of a settlement in a very different place from the Khaliq Dina Hall."

The Magistrate having failed to effectively interrupt Mahamed Ali asked him to file a written statement, which he consented to do.

Mohamed Ali was followed by Hussain Ahmad Madni, but he had hardly spoken a few sentences, when the Government interpretor expressed his inability to translate the difficult Urdu which Madni was using. So his statement was left to be recorded on some other day; and, Pir Ghulam Mujaddid was asked to make a statement if he so desired. Replying to the Magistrate he declared that he was proud of having signed the *Fatwa* asking the Muslims not to joint the Governmet forces, and expressed the ....that he would also file a written statement.

On the fourth day, September 29, Dr. Saif-ud-din

Kitchlew was the first to make his statement. He was a Bar-at-Law and a legal Practitioner by profession. The Magistrate found himself in troubled waters when he got entangled in a legal tussle with him. Interruptions by the Court and pointed rejoinders by the accused compelled the Magistrate to ask Dr. Kitchlew to file a written statement. He was followed by Shri Shanker Achariya. Sitting in the chair he began to deliver his statement but the Magistrate asked him to stand up, to which he replied ;

> "We never shall stand before anybody but our spiritual *Guru*. We shall go to jail; we shall suffer; but we shall not break the rules of *Sanyas*. This is interfering in our religious liberties and we do not at all recognised this Court. We cannot voluntarily break the rules of *Sanyas*. There is absolutely no charge against us in the evidence."

> "I cannot take down anything," said the Magistrate, as long as you do not stand up." And made the following remarks on the file :

> "The accused refused to stand up and answer questions put to him and hence his examination is closed here."

Shaukat Ali Speaks

Now came the Big Brother, Shaukat Ali. He had not spoken in support of the Resolution at the All India *Khilafat* Conference. Referring to that he expressed

that he was sorry that he had no opportunity there to speak in favour of the Resolution with which he "was in full sympathy then, and is in sympathy with it also now." The Magistrate taking the hint said, "Well then I take down that you did support this Resolution." Sharply came the reply, "Heaps", and the court roared with laughter. The Magistrate continued to interrupt him but the Big Brother was adament and carried on with his statement, and once when he was greatly annoyed, he said:

> "I don't care for you. What are you here? You are a mere gramophone I am speaking on the case. I have come to this conclusion that this Government is a mockery and a scandal. I say the Government is satanic. Damn with the Government, damn with this Court, and damn with this whole show."

The Magistrate made the following remarks on the file:

> "The accused goes on abusing the Government and giving a political lecture which has nothing to do with the case and is not recorded."

Mohamed Ali Again

While the Big Brother speaking the Magistrate interrupted him saying that the religious reference made by Shaukat Ali had nothing to do with the case Mohamed Ali stood up and addressed the Court thus:

"You did not permit Shri Shanker Achariya to make a statement unless he respected your official conventions and stood up and thereby disregarded the convention of his religious order, and now you say all references to our faith and to God's laws and commandments has nothing to do with this case. Have you no faith in God? Won't you let us explain the law of God?"

At this state there occurred an unpleasant incident The Magistrate asked Mohamed Ali to sit down but he refused and inquired; "Is there any law which can compel the accused to sit down when he wanted to stand up?" Just then the District Magistrate who was standing behind Mohamed Ali made a sign to the District Superintendent of Police, who stepped forward and softly put his hand on the shoulder of Mohamed Ali but he refused to move, and the Police officer left him standing and returned to his place. Shaukat Ali became infuriated but continued with his statement which indeed was not recorded by the Court, He said:

Since the first of August 1920, I acknowledge of anybody. I am a free man now, and, by the grace of God, am healthy and robust. So long as God Almighty does not will, it, nobody can do me the least harm."

Hussain Ahmed Madni was again asked to give the statement. He once again started but had not yet uttered a few sentences when the Magistrate expressed

his inability to record the statement and made the following remarks on the file :

> "Accused is talking of previous history of India and of political matters and of passages in the *Koran* which is not taken down being irrelevent. Accused read out 34 couplets from the *Koran* and translated them. Accused also read some *Fatwas* of the *Ulema*."

The accused went on speaking and said :

> "If Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India, has been sent out to India to get the *Qur'an* burnt, the *Hadith* (Traditions) effaced and books on theology destroyed, then I am the first Muslim to lay my life in defence of Islam."

He was followed by Nisar Ahmad, who quoted the *Qur'an* and the Tradition, which as usual were not recorded by the Court, and the Magistrate made the following note on the file:

> "The accused recites two couplets from the *Koran* and says they *enjoin upon all* ***Mussalmans*** *not to join the Army. He says he supported the Resolution* and is still in favour of it."

And at the end answering a Court question *he replied;*

> *"Yes, I attended the Conference and I supported* the Resolution ; *I will* support *it* so *long* as *I live* and when I am dead, I do hope and wish my dead

body would support it because it is the commandment of Holy *Qur'an*."

Charges framed and Committed to session

After the statements of the accused had been partly recorded and mainly heard or ignored, the Public Prosecutor stood up to argue the case, and was glad that the accused by not having taken any interest in the case made his job easier for him. When he had finished Mohamed Ali stood up to complete his unfinished statement as promised to the Magistrate. However, the Magistrate dramatically came out with the announcement of the Charges framed by him, and all the accused were committed to the Sessions. Mahamed Ali enquired from the Magistrate as to how he had framed the charges as he had not yet completed his statement. The Magistrate did not reply. Mohamed Ali then ended his statement with the following words:

> "I call it a farce, and I am only sorry that you, as a fello countrymen have taken part in this dirty game.

Another case under section 124—A and 153—A

When the episode was considered to have ended, the Magistrate took up another case against Shaukat Ali under Section 124-A and 153-A of the Indian Penal Code and finished the proceedings by the time the Court rose for the day. He further announced that a similar case would be heard against Mohamed Ali on the next

day of hearing. The Court remained closed on Friday, September 30, and on the fifth day of the proceedings, people gathered again and the Hall was packed as usual; Only Mohamed Ali was to attend the Court and face the new charges. But there sprang up a surprise when all the accused entered the Hall as usual. However, the Magistrate did not take much time to disclose that some irregularities had been committed on the last day of the proceedings, as he had failed to read the charges in Urdu to the accused who did not know English. So the charges were read out in Urdu and copies furnished to them.

Mohamed Ali rose and enquired as to how it was that before they were committed to the Sessions on the 30th of September, the Judicial Commissioner visited the Hall to see if it would be suitable for holding the Sessions trial. This clearly indicated that before the Magistrate had read the charges it had been decided to send them to the Session; He added:

> "This is a perfact scandal on the administration of justice after which there will not be the slightest vestige of respect left for administration of justice."

To which the Magistrate replied; "I am not responsible for that." Thereafter the case was taken up against Mohamed Ali under Section 124-A and 153-A of the I. P. C. He concluded the proceedings in no time, committing both the Brother to the Sessions for further hearing.

Dramatically Summoned to the Court again

After their committent to Session the accused remained in the lock-up for about twenty days, when all of a sudden they are summoned to reappear in the Court of the City Magistrate, who had tried their case, on Friday, October 22, the Court was held on this occasion in the jail compound instead of in the Khaliqdina Hall. When the Court opened it was disclosed that on September 27, the Public Prosecutor had asked the Magistrate to issue summons to some witnesses but he did oot think it worthwhile to call them and had passed the following order :

> "I do not think it necessary to adjourn the committal proceedings for these witnesses. It will serve the purpose if they are summoned for the Sessions Court."

The note also shows that the Magistrate had decided to send the case to the Sessions while the accused had not so far given their statements. Consequently it dawned on the Magistrate that the examination of some of the witnesses was necessary and that such witnesses were present to be examined. Mohamed Ali addressing the Magistrate said that the mistake committed by him on September 27, was being corrected on that day. He also again referred the inspection of the Hall by the Judicial Commissioner, to which the Public Prosecutor replied that the visit took place only 'in the event' the case was committed to the Sessions

Promptly came the following rejoinder from Mohamed Ali:

"I say that then have steamers also ready because 'in the event' we are transported, they will be required. I want it to be known that inspite of the Lord Chief Justice of England being the Viceroy and in spite of the New Dispensation of Justice, which he has announced with such a flourish of trumpets, the system of administration of Justice is still the farce it used to be and that when once sanction is given to prosecute a set of honest, patriotic public workers in India, it is understood by the Magistrates and Judges that they are meant to be found guilty also and punished as desired by the Government. Not only was the Judicial Commissioner sure of our being committal before it took place, but this Court was so obsessed with the same idea that as early as only the second day of enquiry, it put it down in black and white that we were to be committed. This shows rank prejudice, but those who consider themselves to be the custodians of law and presume to sit in judgement on seven public workers, should come into Court with clean hands. This Court has already proved its gross prejudice and had vitiated all the proceedings. This should be made know to all and particularly to the Lord Chief Justice of England." i.e. the Viceroy.

Thereafter the witnesses were examined and the Court rose for the day. On the seventh day, October 22, the remaining witnesses made their statement and Mohamed Ali made a short speech showing the legal irregularities committed during the case. The Magistrate after hearing him wrote a not on the file that Mahamed Ali had objected that the witnesses were included in the original complaint but were not called before, and were appearing in the Court when the whole proceedings had been finished and when the case had also been committed.

The Great Farcical Trial At Karachi (II)

SHALL GOD DOMINATE OVER MAN OR MAN OVER GOD?

THE first phase of the historical Karachi Trial ended on October 22, and the second started on October 26, in the Court of Judicial Commissioner, working as a Session Judge. The stage was the same as before, i.e. Khaliqdina Hall, and there was scarecely any difference in the security arrangements. The Hall was heavily guarded as usual and to the official by claimed open-court; entry was restricted to Pass holders. In an atmosphere similar to that which prevailed in the Lower Court, the case started with the address of Mr. Ross Alston. who was imported from the United Provinces to act as Public Prosecutor. The accused were charged under Sections 120-B, 115, 131, 109, 505, 117, of the Indian Penal Code, and the 'Judge had the misfortune of trying an admixture of charges most of which were to go before the very same jury as Assessors with the exception of one Important charge of conspiracy read with Section 131 which had to be solely determined by that Jury as Jury'.

However, when Mr. Kennedy, Judicial Commissioner of Sind, occupied the Chair as a Sessions Judge and the Jurors-cum-Assessors were seated, he delivered a

lengthy summary of the so-called facts of the case to the Jury and dealt in detail with the origin and growth of the National Movement and tried to pose himself as a scholar of Islamic history with special reference to the *Khilafat* affairs, and thus tried his best to win over the Jurors and the Assessors to his side; but, later on Mohamed Ali with his materly oration and irrefutable logic sent Mr. Kennedy's spider's web to the four winds in his two days long address to the Jury.

The accused were then asked to speak, if they so desired. Being non-co-operators they kept silent and only Mohamed Ali stood up to make a statement and clear the position to the extent he was allowed by his organisation as was referred to in the previous pages. At the very outset, in response to Mohamed Ali's request, the Jurors had to change their seats: thereafter, he with the dignity and confidence of an accredited leader of the Muslims of India stood up in a pindrop silence and remarked humorously :

> "I just asked the Presiding Judge that he might permit me to see your faces because with the exception of one of your number I had not hitherto been able to see your faces· And I also said that I wanted to seduce the Jury. Of course, there was behind that another intenion, not the ultimate object perhaps, but incidental to it, as the Publio Prosector would say, I wanted you to act as a screen in front of the ladies now behind

you, or the Public Prosecutor may add yet another charge of seduction against me (Laughter), but after all I find that as a result of my effort at seduction I have turned the Judge also towards me today (laughter)."

Referring to the charges levelled against the accused, Mohamed Ali said that the question to be decided by the Court and any by the Jurors-cum-Assessors was: Is God's law for a British subject to be more important or King's law-a man's law? He added: "We want to have our fight to get the protection of the law for our religious beliefs and practices recognised, "and" Shall God dominate over man or shall man dominate over God?" he asked, He further stated that as the Government had failed to respect religious aspiration of the Muslims, "we do not recognise the King any longer as our King-we do not owe any loyalty to any man who denies our right to be loyal to God." Dealing with the case and makiag some humorous remarks, he added; "I base my case upon the Queen's Proclamation and the King's Proclamation. So the Judge has got to declare whether these Proclamations have any value in a Law Court or not." When he took up the question most seriously and began to quote the passages of the Qur'an and the Traditions, the Judge began to interrupt him, just as it had been the case in the Lower Court. A tussle began but Mohamed Ali was too stiff to give in to the Judge and carried on with his oration defending the accused. The Judge told him, "Whether you have

committed the offence or not has to be decieded according to the law of the land." Mohamed Ali became more defiant and militant after hearing the same and enquired, "Does the Queen's Proclation give protection to the Muslims' religion or not?" He challenged the Governmet and the Prosecution "to produce any man, to produce "any man, to produce any judicial opinion, or *Fatwa* to show that what we declare is wrong."

In spite of the Court's interruptions Mohamed Ali in a very brilliant and masterly manner dicussed religion and political history and tried to convince the Court that the religion was supreme and had to be resected in the light of the Queen's Proclamation. Then he dealt with the charges framed against them and smashed these allegations one by one. The interruptions naturally created a tense atmosphere as Mahamed Ali mentioned the Holy Prophet. The Judge most foolishly made the irrelevant and irreverent remarks "Never mind about the Prophet," to which Shaukat Ali promptly retorted, "Blasphemy and impertinence." The situation dangerously detriorated and the Judge haughtily ordered, "Sit down." Mohamemed Ali refused to obey saying," I have not yet done with Session 505, and had not even touched the other so many Sections." Hot words were exchanged and time was wasted, and the Judge came out with the words; "I do not want to hear you," but was rebuked by Mohamed Ali, with the retort: "It is for the Assessors; at any rate you cannot take away the Assessors' right." And when the Judge

failed to move Mohamed Ali afirm as a rock—from the ground he was holding, he said; "Argue your case," and sharp was the reply, "It is not *your* case that I am arguing," on which the Judge infuriatedly said; "Will you sit down?"

Mohamed Ali: "If I dont?"
The Judge, "I shall put you in custody."
Mohamed Ali, "Do."

Then the incident which had occurred in the Lower Court was repeated. The Superintendent of Police was asked to make the accused sit down. He walked a few paces but discreetly retraced his steps without daring to touch the accused. The Judge instructed his *Sareshtedar* to call on the other accused to speak. But Mohamed Ali continued his address. The Judge became bewildered and helpless and in disgust exclaimed; "Don't interrupt the Court." Mohd. Ali did not fail to give a ready rejoinder, saying, "I am not interrupting the Court *rather you* are interrupting me." He in an amusing and humorous tone proceeded with his statement. The interruptions proved ineffective and Mahamed Ali remained on his feet addressing the Jury for full two days and concluded his forceful oration with the following:

"I will not be a party to the killing of a goat for personal malice, **but** for the sake of my God will kill all, I will not spare any one—I will slaughter my own brother, my dear aged mother, wife,

children and all for the sake of God, so help me God."

The address to the Jury is one of the masterpieces of Mohamed Ali's oratorical achievement on record. It shows his profound and unerring knowledge of Islamic history in particular and the world history in general, his knowledge of the working of the Indian Penal Code and Complete mastery over the Islamic Teachings, his command over the English language and the force of his advocacy and power of his speech. His address undoubtedly surpassed in several respects that of Mr. Burke's famous speech which he delivered in the House of Commons in connection with the case of Hasting's Impeachment.

Acquitted and also sentenced to hard labour

To end the drama, Judicial Commissioner, in honouring the verdict of the Jury-and legally as he had no other course to adopt-accquitted and discharged all the accused under Sections 120-B, 115, 131 and 109. However, with the assistance of jurors he awarded two years rigorous imprisonment to each of the accused under Sections 505, 109, 117 and 131. The sentences were to run concurrently. Only Shari Shanker Achariya was given the benefit of doubt and acquitted under the said Sections. Thus the drama ended on November 1, 1921.

Justice or no justice, after the farcical trial was ended the Government of India considered it necessary to clear its position by presenting an official Report for the year 1921 to the Parliament saying that the Ali Brothers who were :

> "......openly gloried in their hatred of the British Government', were convicted and sentenced to a few years imprisonment." (O'Dwyer p-403)

Story of the jail life

After the sentence passed by Mr. Kennedy, the highest judicial authority in Sind, the convicts were first lodged in the Central Prison at Karachi and later on they were transferred to other jails. Mohamed Ali was removed to Bijapur (Deccan) and Shaukat Ali to Rajkot. Mohamed Ali has described this new turn of his life in the following words :

> "I found a heaven of refuge in the prison at Karachi where no doubt from the point of view of Government, 'the wicked ceased from troubling' and from that of 'wicked', the weary have some rest."

However, the story of their jail-life is too tragic to be fully naratted. Each moment, which they spent in jail, and every treatment meted out to them, has to be recorded as the blackest blot on British justice, or the rulers' behaviour and on the conduct of the

administration of the time. It is difficult, if not impossible, for those who had never visited the jails in those dark year of 1919-24 to visualize and imagine how human beings were then treated and tortured under the command of the 'civilised' British regime. Undoubtedly, it reminds us of the happenings of the Dark Ages. Who could ever believe that prisoners, and not ordinary criminals, but men of position life those involved in the Great Karachi Trial, were treated as if they were no better than the worst criminals.

They were supplied with jail-made convicts' uniform, consisting of a *Pyjama* and a shirt, both of medium length and cut from the coarse rough jail made cloth, supplied to ordinary criminals The Shirts had no buttons but cloth-mended knots to tie their collars. A piece of the same coarse cloth about four feet in length and nearly one and a half feet in width was the third piece of their uniform, to be used as towel or bed-sheet or say, as a handkerchief. One or two so-called blankets formed their beddings without any pillow. To cover their feet they had to arrange for, or purchase, shoes at their own expense. stiff and hard piece of coirmatting was to serve as mattress, and a dirty black iron bowl was handed over to each of them to serve as a dish, plate aud tumbler simultaneously. In addition to all these discomforts indignities they had to wear a thick wire-noose round their necks with a small wooden tablet having inscribed on it all the Sections of the IPC under which they had been convicted,

and also showing the date of their imprisonment and the date of expected release. How they must have looked in this uniform holding iron bowls in their hands and wearing iron noose around their necks is not difficult to picture. There were no electric lights in jails in those evil days and the convicts' barracks were supplied with dimly-lit lanterns, only to help the *Numberdars* (convict watchmen) to keep a vigil on the movements of those who were kept confined in the barracks. And those who had to be lodged in solitary calls were deprived even of this dimight.

Such barbaric and inhuman treatment was meted out to persons who were the accredited leaders of the Muslim India. Three of them were religious divines of repute, one a Bar-at-law, two graduates from Aligarh including one with an Honours Degree from Oxford and both of them once holding high positions in the Government service. The graduate from Oxford, Mohamed Ali, was also a journalist of high standing, to whom the Premier-ships of Indian States had been continuously offered, and who headed the Muslim delegation twice to England and had been received not only by the Ministers of the British Cabinet but also granted a special audiance by His Holiness the Pope. Nowhere in the world political workers were treated so savegely and made to suffer the same fate as that of the worst type of criminals. In short, the Government showed no respect for them, no consideration for their high position and no regard for their personal abilities, and the name

and fame they had enjoyed throughout the country. Contrary to the Government's attitude, the ordinary convicts respected them to the greatest extent; they knew their position and were well aware that these noble sons of Islam were thrown into the jail, because they had pleaded that God should dominate over man and not man dominate over God.

In side the jail walls, these eminet personalities, were compelled to labour along with other criminals. They worked shoulder to shoulder with the criminals without any grudge or grumble, and were happy with the knowledge that they were undergoing that hardship for a right cause, which had been appreciated not only by Muslims but also by other communities. A Christian admirer published an articale in England saying that Mohamed Ali did what the Apostle, Peter and John, who were prosecuted before the Sanhendrine had said, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, Judge ye." (Act 4 : 19) and "we ought to obey God rather than man." (Act 5 : 29) However, under the atmosphere,

> "During the long winter nights," wrote Mohamed Ali, "there it occurred to me that even after the day's labour in the goal I could have some liesure, and the peace and calm that I needed for writing, and accordingly I applied for sanction to have my own books and purchase writing material at my own cost for the purpose of indulging in a little authorship." M. L. A. F.

ISLAM –The Kingdom of God.

It took a few months to obtian the necessary sanction to collect books, etc., to write The Life of The Holy Prophet, but later on, it was found difficult, as there appeared hundred and one disabilities ic consulting books and exchanging views with the learned friends on the subject, so he gave up the idea and started to write and give an exposition of Islam, as in his own words :

> "So I gave up all idea of that and fell back on the such less ambitious task of preparing an exposition of Islam which would be far more personal than the life of the Prophet could have been."

However, he had hardly written a small portion of the trealise entitled Islam with Kingdom of God when he was released and the work remained unfinished. Coming out of jail he had to rejoin the political arena and could not have any time to revert to writing, the most chrished of his pastimes. The unfinished manuscript could not be completed as destiny had wished differently. He breathed his last before presenting the same to the world. More than two hundred typed pages were found in his belongings after the end of his earthly journey and were preserved in the Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, an educational institution, which he himself had founded. Also, for more than ten years, the custodians of the manuscript, failed to edit the same and to present it to his admirers amongst the general public. It was

destined that a fortunate young admirer of Mohamed Ali, Afzal Iqbal, M. A., had to search for the MSS and after *EDITING* the same to publish it in a book form *under the title* "My Life, A Fragment," a most appropriate *title* which decorates the valume, and in justification of which the editor himself writes:

> "This book was originally entitled," 'Islam-Kingdom of God, 'but as only a quarter of the whole *work* is complete, its present contents do not, in my opinion, justify the name which the author once intended to give it. Doubtless that name would have been the best and the most suitable if the book were complete; but as it is, a change of name is warranted both by the contents of the book and consideration of justice of the readers."

From the very start of his practical life Mohamed Ali had the cherished desire to compile an authentic Life of our Holy Prophet Muhammad, but his busy life did not allow him to achieve the same, yet he induced others to do so, and it would be intersting to know that, in fact, it was he who had prompted and inspired Shibli Nomani to write his famous *Seerat-un-Nabi*, of which he himself writes:

> "There was no biography of the Prophet in Urdu that did not contain stories of doubtful authenticity. This I had known for some time, and it was this that had made me urge on my old tutor, the late Maulana Shibli, as a great grievance, during a

visit of him to me at Baroda ten years earlier, that even a historian of Islam like him, who had written the life of Mamun-ur Rashid in his "Heroes of Islam" series had not gone beyond a biography of the great Umar, and had left the life of the greatest Hero of the World, the Prophet himself, unchronicled. And it was then that he had explained to me that the task was far from a light one, for in no language did such a biography of the Prophet exists as I and hundred thousand others today desired. There were large tomes in Arabic no doubt, but they were all in the nature of material for a Life of the Prophet, and would have to be thrashed and winnowed by a biographer before such a Life, as a proper critical standard required, could be published. Neverthless he recognised not only the importence of such an undertaking but the immediate urgency of it and before long he announced his intention to take the work in hand. With the ever ready financial assistance from Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, Shibli and the ardent deciples whom he had gathered around himself completed the Prophet's biography just before the hand of death removed him from our midst.... The first volume came out while we were still at Chhindwara, and in Betul jail, I was privileged to read the proofsheets of the second volume as they were being printed off." M. L. A. F. P–189

Released from Jail:

whatever critical and inhuman treatment these eminent leaders might have undergone in the company of common criminals in jail, there is no denying the fact that this was the period during which their names got enshrined deep into the minds of the general pnblic as National Heroes. The great respect and love that these Heroes commanded from their co-religionists and compatriots knew no bounds; particularly Shaukat Ali and Mohamed Ali had become names to conjure with, having been bracketed together, with the utmost affection, as Mohamedali - Shaukatali. This compound name became a household word throughout the country and could be heard from West to East and North to South of India, and even spread to foreign countries. They were so popular that wherever there was a gathering, be it political or religious, poetical or marital the name of the 'Ali Brothers' was mentioned and praised. Thousands of political verses were composed and recited by the old and young alike. The professional singers and the ameteurs made it a point to sign the names of the Brothers. And among the of-repeated verses, there was specific one, in itself carrying little poetical value, which became so popular as to be selected even by children for day-to-day recital as their national song. In this verse, the poet had depicted the brave old mother advising her illustrious sons to offer themselves as sacrifice for *Khilafat* without the least hasitation. (The following

are some of the more popular doggerels and verses which rent the air in those days of agitation.)

بولیں اماں محمد علی کی   جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو
ساتھ تیرے ہے شوکت علی بھی   جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو
بوڑھی اماں کا کچھ غم نہ کرنا   کلمہ پڑھکر خلافت پہ مرنا
پورے اس امتحان میں اترنا   جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو
ہوتے اگر میرے سات بیٹے   کرتی سب کو خلافت پہ صدقے
ہیں یہی دین احمد کے رستے   جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو
حشر میں حشر برپا کروں گی   پیش حق تم کو لیکر چلوں گی
اس حکومت پہ دعوے کروں گی   جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

Mohamed Ali was enjoying his jail life as described above, when one fine morning in the last fortnight of August, 1923, he unexpectedly found himself surrounded by a posse of police telling him that he was being transferred to an unknown destination. The departure from Bejapore Jail was kept well guarded secret, but on reaching the Jhansi Railway Station, he found himself stranded, as the Police informed him that he had been set at liberty to go wherever he liked. By the time Mohamed Ali reached Jhansi and the first to meet him there was Mohamed Hassan Hayat, popularly known as 'Lord Hayat', his comrades and secretary during the days of the *Khilafat* delegation. The other comrades followed.

unfortunately, while Mohamed Ali was still in jail his beloved daughter, Amena, who had not yet enjoyed

even four years of her married life, fell a victim to T. B. and was lying in a nursing home at Bhowali hill station. The news of her illness had already been broken to him while he was behind the bars, and naturally he must have been perturbed. He wrote a few verses praying for her health and entrusted her to the protection of Allah the Almighty.

It was but natural that he should dash direct from Jhansi to see his ailing daughter, but along with the paternal devotion and responsibilites he may also shouldering the heavy responsibility of the whole nation. Under such circumstances when he was released after two years of imprisonment, his inner self seemed to prompt him to go direct to Delhi instead of going to Bhowali, Rampur or elsewhere. Spending a few days there, he paid a flying visit to Jamia Millia Islamia, Aligarh, and only thereafter headed for Bhowali and had the comfort of seeing his daughter lying in bed. The few days which he could spare to nurse the ailing girl were also interupted as he was kept busy with numberless visitors who were pouring in at all hours of day and night. In addition to that, he had to receive a heavy load of letters and telegrams which were to be acknowledged. In view of his national preoccupations he could not remain long to nurse the ailing Amena, as he would have wanted to do. Enterusting her to the protection of Allah and the loving care of her own husband, Mahmudullah, and other relatives, he left the hills with a heavy heart to resume his political struggle

on the plains with the same seal as had characterized the earlier part of his eventful life.

Legal aspect of the trial:

Mr. Moazzam Ali, one of the Secretaries of the Central *Khilafat* Committee, at the time the trial was held wrote an Introduction to the Proceeding of the Trial published by the *Khilafut* Committee, in which he says:

"Mohamed Ali's heroic fight in defence of freedom of Religion will ever remain a brilliant and memorable chapter in the history of Islam and India. The Trial, with the weight of genius of Mohamed Ali thrown in, has proved to be a landmark in itself like many an event in the past career of Mohamed Ali. Those who had the privilege and the good fortune to watch the proceedings of the case will never forget the presence of mind, perseverence, the graceful firmness, the ready and quick retort and brilliancy of wit exhibited by Mohamed Ali as also his masterful marshalling of facts intermixed with the most eloquent and persuasive manner of a religious preacher. He often extracted a forced and occassionally spontsneious and admiration even from his opponents in the shape of suppressed smiles and laughter, to say nothing of the reptures of those who were his adherents and admirers. His defence, by making Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 and other successive proclamations of British Sovereins as a buttress, was a magnificicnt and telling performance.

Never before had these Proclamations been quoted with greater dexterity, effect and solemnity than on this occasion and all the essence contained therein brought to the surface by penetrating perception and skill. Perhaps also never before has such a successful attempt been made to reclaim this Proclamation of Queen Victoria from oblivion and to accord it due recognision as the real Magna Charta of India. And, perhaps, also never before had the bureaucracy quailed and winced more than under the frontal onslaught of Mohamed Ali who, as a wonderful tactician, by boldly challenging the Judge to acquite or convict, forced him into a corner and finally compelled him to declare the mockery of such proclamation. God had destined a reputed Civilian Judge to undermine and to demolish with a stroke of pen the fabric built up by the labours of a generation of astute civilians, on which the allegiance of His Majesty's British subjects was so far loosely hung. To meet Mohamed Ali's argnment and to save the solemnity of Proclamations by declaring that they cannot protect anything done under the colour of religion was a most flimsy and feeble performance, taking into consideration the facts of the case which clearly raised a most important religious issue and which received the approval and sanction of no less than 500 *Ulama* of India.

No State trial in the East has ever before evoked and excited public interest to such a pitch nor has such a trial of late any parallel in the East or even the West.

These papers consisting of Mohamed Ali's statement before the Magistrate, together with his address to the Jury and his Note and Memorandum prepared in Karachi Jail, are presented to the public side by side with the summing up of the Judge and the Judgement in the case. They represent the whole case for the Crown and defence in a nutshell and will be found to be highly interesting. Islam is engaged in a life and death struggle in India as well as over the world. These papers will enable the readers to find out the nature of the evil which the Mohammedans of India and their compatriots, the Hindus, have been forced to combat. The whole administration of this country by the bureaucracy is on trial and has already been shaken to its very foundation. And GOD-willing we shall soon see the dawn of a New Era in which the forces of righteousness will soon gain a sure victory.

A few words in the end require to be devoted to expose the judicial incompetency revealed during the trial. The idiosyncracies of the Magistrate and the illegal procedure adopted may be overlooked in this short introduction as they have been sufficiently exposed in the statements and addresses of the prisoners made and delivered during the Sessions Trial. But the curtain must be lifted fully from the final stages in which such a reputedly learned Judge grievonsly blundered. The Judge had the mis-fortune of trying an admixture of charges most of which were to go before the very same Jury as assessors witt the

exception of important charge of conspiracy read with Sec: 131, I. P. C. which had to be solely determined by that jury as jury. The jury charge having failed ignoriniously and the accused having showed an acquial, the charge to the jury which contained all the facts in the case ceased to have any effect as a portion of judgement. The learned Judge, instead of taking the treuble of writing a separate on which he convicted and sentenced the prisoners, contented himself merely with pronouncing the sentence. To call it a judgement in a case is nothing but a misnomer. Nor is it a judgement in law according to Section 367 Criminal Procedure Code, which lays down clearly and imperatively that every judgement shall contain the points of determination and the reasons thereof. But the judgement consisting of two typed pages contains no points of determination or any reference to the evidence adduced in the case and merely serves as an oaders of sentence generally passed in cases triable by Jury. This so-celled judgement was pronounced of Ist November 1921, and was signed on the 4th November, when the judge had become *functus officio* a Session Judge, and could not sign the judgment and Judicial Commissioner of Sind, taking shelter behind the provision of special rules in force regarding delivery and signing of judgment. On the 4th November another interesting episode occurred. The public Prosecutor made an application to the Court for review of judgment as the judge according to the Crown Prosecutor, had also failed to record judgment

under Section 120 B read with Sec: 115 I. P. C. The learned judge admitted having committed the mistake "due to bad accoustic properties of the court," but refused to convict the accused on this charge, because the main and substantial charge of Conspiracy under Sec: 120 B, read with Sec: 131, I. P. C. had resulted in an acquittal. The Public Prosecutor's application was gentle reminder to the Judge that he had fotgotten to write any judgment at all even on charges on which he had convicted and centenced the accused. To bring his order or sentence pronounced on 1st November, in conformity with provisions of Sec: 367, Criminal Procedure Cod, the Judge added the following note to his judgment on the 4th November :-*

The addition of such a note to a judgement which was already delivered, and was entirely unwarranted, illegal and ultra vires. The Judge after delivery of the judgment could merely correct a clerical error but could not subtract from or add anything to the judgment already pronounced. Nor had he any authority to add such a note as he had ceased to be Sessions Judge in the case after having pronounced his judgment and, if permitted by rules, could merely sign the judgement on that date and no more. The addition of the note makes even the order of sentence entirely illegal. Besides, the addition of the note does not any more make it — judgment and bring it within the provisions

* The charge to the jury is to be attached and read as part of the judgment and any copy of this judgment is to include a copy of the charge.

of Sec: 367, Criminal Procedure Code, because the facts given in the charge to the jury cannot be made to do service for points of determination in the jury cannot be made to do service for points of determination in the case and the reasons given thereon. The function of the charge to the jury is merely to marshal facts for the opinion of the jury and nothing contained therein is finally determined by the Judge in regard to the case and, therefore, cannot, if made even to form part of the judgment, service the purpose for which the note was added. Moreover the moment the jury brought in a verdict of "Not guilty", on the charge to the jury and the judge accepted the verdict and acquitted the prisioners of that charge, the charge to the jury ceased to perform its function. That charge to the jury was merely a part and parcel of the order of acquittal recorded by the judge in the case, and, therefore, could save to become part and parcel of that portion of the case on which the Judge convicted and sentenced the accused, after taking the opinion of the jury as assessors.

The learned Judge ought to have recorded a separat judgment in the case on charges on which he wanted to convict them, but that was done, therefore the result was that the Karachi prisoners sufferred a wrongful confinement and illegal detention and not undergoing a legal term of imprisonment, for which every official from the lowest to the highest deserves to be involved in heavy damages."

President of the All India Congress Committee

SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY ON RETURN FROM JAIL:

DURING the days Ali Brothers were in jail in connection with the great farcical trial held at Karachi the Hindu Mahasabha became active in uniting the Hindus and condemning the Muslims as much as that all the unity which had so far been achieved was thrown to winds Mohamed Ali describes the situation in the following words:

> "Just after conviction at Karachi, the *Maharashtrian* Hindu Mahasabhites unfurled their flag of revolt against Mahatama Gandhi and the Non-co-operation Movement; and Gandhiji himself throwing and ultimatum at the face of the Government took such a position at Bardoli as was generally considered as an acceptance of defeat. Soon after, like ourselves, he was also, imprisoned. After his going behind the bars Pandit Motilal Nehru and the late Deshbandhu Das were released but instead of strengthening the Non-co-operation Movement ......they unfurled an other banner of revolt at Gaya under the name of *Swaraj*, which fully gave a death blow to the movement. In addition to

that the Hindu Mahasabha started *Shuddhi-Sangthan* movements putting fuel to the fire of religious fury which we had once successfully calmed down. The Muslims of the Punjab in retaliation started wordy war-fare...... thus all what we had done was spoiled and wasted. When all this was disclosed to me in jail, painfully I said:

یہ حالت ہو گئی ہے ایک ساقی کے نہ ہونے سے
کہ خم کے خم بھرے ہیں مے سے اور مےخانہ خالی ہے

Thus on their return from prison the Ali Brothers found themselves caught in a thorny-net, but as they had confidence in themselves, they began to work, unhesitatingly and unflinchingly and again toured the country from one end to the other. They met the Hindu leaders and tried to place before them a picture of the country and its future which was too visible after such a harmful movement; and, even stood against his own brother Muslims for the unwise step they were taking in resorting to retaliation. They carried on their mission and strived hard to re-unite their countryman and bring about the release of Gandhi and other leaders. The freedom loving Hindus and Muslims who had kept themselves aloof from this communal furore and fury felt that all that the country had gained since 1919 was being un-done and destryed. To save their unfortunate and unhappy fatherland a strong sensable leader was required, and they could think of no better person than

Mohamed Ali to assnme that historical role of guiding the nation to its final goal. All the Provincial Congress Committees unanemously elected him to preside over the most important session of the All India Congress Committee which was to be held at Coconada in the Presidency of Madras.

Swaraj Party Born:

Undoubtedly, it was a great and unique honour to be elected the President of the biggest political organisation by the spontaneous and unanemous choice of the Indian nation, and specially for one who had formed his political alliance with the Congress Party only three years ago. It was a busy time for Mohamed Ali, as instead of keeping united the Indians had not only divided themselves into conflicting religious parties and groups may they were actually facing each other with vemomous harted and arms. It was not an easy task to tackle such a complicated and critical situation. Further the condition became more troublesome when those who were not led by the said pseudo-religious or communal fire- eaters, began to quarrel among themselves right inside the Congress camp. The Congress was committed to non-co-operation with the Government but a party from among its own ranks consisting of prominent leaders, came out to disrupt it. A new group under the name of Swaraj Party came into being with no less a person than C. R. Das, one of the most honest among the Hindu Congressities, at its head and supported by

Motilal Nehru and others. They wanted to change the programme in the absence of Gandhi and were eager to join the Lagislative Assemblies with certian mental reservations.' While on the other hand even a man of no less a stature and status than, C. Rajagopalacharia, the most experienced and vetern leader, (who after the partition of India was appointed the First Indian President of Bharat) strictly adhered to the Congress programme and remained unyielding. Both the parties were equally balanced numerically and a tough fight was in sight foreboding ruination of the Congress and of its prestige, a special session was summoned at Delhi under the president-ship of Abul Kalam Azad to settle the dispute. Mohamed Ali who was in the later group known as 'No Changers' exercising his own discretion and sence of responsibilities and in the greatest interest of the country, along with another sincere worker, Mrs. Sarojni Naidu, who exerted her influence to bring the parties together and to agree to come to some decision and thus save the Congress from a serious crisis. They were successful in their efforts and a formula was evolved to which both the parties consented and which they retified. It was to the effect that the Swaraj Party was to be allowed to contest election for seats of the Lagislative Assemblies on their own party-ticket and the No-Changers had to remain standing on their own feet as before. In his tactful manner, a grave calamity was averted and the Congress was saved from being smashed to smithereens on the rock of rival political factions.

How the Presidential Address was Written:

The Presidential Address of Congress President has always been considered an historical and most valuable document of its time by the public and the Government alike. Such addresses had generally been compiled and prepared months before the day they were to be delivered. Consultation with friends and admirers had been considered as an essential feature before drafting the address, but there was no time for Mohamed Ali to have kept the usual traditions and conventions intact and unaltered. He was touring the country and to serve the masses was a matter of greater importance to him than writing the Presidential Address. His friends were perturbed and admirers became nervous less he should not ascend the dias and deliver an extempore speech. Althought his extempore orations have been acclaimed as better and of superior order than many of the carefully written and printed addresses so far delivered from the Congress plateform, and he had given innumerable examples of his oratory in England, France and other Continental countries when heading the *Khilafat* Delegation; and, it was after being strongly impressed by these speeches that the wellknown and the world reknowned English author, Mr. H G. Wells had said that, Mohamed Ali had the heart of Nepoleon, the pen of Macaulay and the tongue of Burke, and yet his friends deeply desired that he should write and leave a written record on the Congress files for the benefit and edification of the coming generations.

Furthermore, in the same year Ghazi Mustafa kemal Pasha of Turkey and Comrade Lenin of Russia were expected to make their pronouncements and declarations of world shaking significance, Mohamed Ali were also anxious to see that his words at least carried equal weight and importance in the political affairs of the world. But, Mohamed Ali's friends had hardly any time to spare for this job, as he was busy in the country and considered his mass contact mission to be of an all-absorbing importance compared to this minor matter of preparing his Presidential Address. The annual session was to be held in the last week of December and not a single sentence had been written by him till the end of the first week of the month. However, pestered and persuaded by friends he made an attempt to dictate his views to his secretary.

Mr. Master, M.A., who after having typed every four copies of the dictated matter handed them over to the translators for reproductions in different languages. The same procedure was repeated the next day but that considerable time was being wasted in dictation and that securing the services of stenographers would prove to be time saving. An other insuperable obstacle which bequently interrupted the work was the frequent visit of his friends and worker, with whom he had to spend sufficiently long time in matters not directly connected with the Presidential Address. Page after page was typed and placed into the hands of the waiting translators and thereafter in the hands of to the printers. Thus,

the material collected spread over 134 pages of the size of 18 x 22/8 closely printed, dealing with all the important events of the time and giving guidance to the country for the future. It was the longest presidential speech ever delivered from the Congress plateform, and, in spite of the fact that Mohamed Ali had no time to revise his manuscript or make any alteration in it, the speech was received with acclamation and admiration not only as a master-piece of Indian political literature but also as a valuaple historical document.

He successfully tried to explain the exact position of the Muslims who had till then been painted in hurried colours by their opponents. A sufficient portion of the address was utilized to expound the Muslim point of view and their status since the War of Independence, 1857.

Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan Supported:

The Hindu press had been endlessly and cruelly condemned the noble Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and had dubbed him as anti-nationalist and pro-British, and at the same time, many Muslim *Ulama* were up in arms against him and had openly proclaimed that great Muslim to be a heretic. Mohamed Ali, boldly comfronted his traducers, and brilliantly supported him from the Congress plateform so much so that the dense fog of villification and criminal slander cleared up quickly and the real visage of the saintly Syed re-emerged to remain

as an immortal picture of purity and nobility in the History of the Muslim world. In suyport of the political wisdom of that great Muslim, Mohamed Ali boldly declared:

> "I must confess I still think that the attitude of Syed Ahmad Khan was eminently wise...... I am constrained to admit that no well-wisher of Muslims, nor of India as a whole, could have followed a very different course in leading the Muslims, of the time."

He further stated: Whatever the opponents of Syed Ahmad Khan might think, the British in spite of his tactfully cordial relations with them, considered him as a 'rebel' and in corroboration quoted an old English official who in reply to Shaukat Ali had said:

> "Do you think your Muslims who are being taught at Aligarh almost as well as our boys at Harrow and Winchester, who lives their lives and can beat them at their own games, would obsequiously serve them when they come out as Indian Civilians or members of such other superior services... .. the days of British rule in India are numbered, and it is your loyal Syed Ahmad Khan that is the arch-rebel today."

There can be no more convincing and conclusive proof of the political sagacity and prophetic far-sightedness of Syed Ahmad Khan than the tragically establish-

ed fact that Congressite of Jinnah's type was driven by Hindu India to demand Pakistan as an inevitable historical need and necessity.

The Partition of Bengal:

The decision of the Partition of Bengal in 1905 was opposed by the Hindus, tooth and nail, whereas the Muslims warmly welcomed the event. United efforts of the Hindu compelled the Government to retrace its steps and the frequently declared 'settled fact' was unsettled to the wild satisfaction of the Hindus, through announcement made by the King Emperior himself at Delhi 1911. Under the influence of the said double-edged policy of the Government, the Hindus and the Muslims had been fighting each other. Mohamed Ali did not overlook this question and justifying the Muslims he emphathetically declared:

> "Before the partition they (Muslims) had laboured under many difficulties and had endured everything quietly as only the weak can endure. It was not they that had clamoured and agitated for the Partition. Nevertheless, the Partition came to them as a well deserved, wholly unexpected, blessing. Their condition had begun to improve, and with that their ambition hopes...... But, like the exaltation born of a draught of *hashish*, it did not last long, and the reaction came with a suddenness and a force that were

terrible. The emancipated slaves were, so to speak, once more sold into bondage, and who does not know that the revenge is sweet? Their old masters could have been excused if on being placed once more in the pssition of the slave-drivers they had used the lash and the bastinado a little too lavishly."

System of separate electorates:

Similarly discussing, in the Presidential Address the question of Separate Electorates to which Hindus, one and all, were opposed; he courageously stated that he was one of the formulators of the idea and had his hand in forcing the, Government to accept the same, and in justifying its introduction said that:

"......the creation of separate electorates did a good deal to put a stop to the inter-communal warfare."

Cow Killing by the Muslims Justified

The most rigid and the cruel question ever raised had been, the cow killing by the Muslims, Communal clashes occurred daily because of cow, and her reverence can be judged by the fact, that Gandhi while tendering his promise of help for the fact, that Gandhi while tendering his promise of help for the *Khilafat* and the Muslim cause had openly indicated that he expected in return from the Muslims the safety of the cow. But

Mohamed Ali held a different view. He could never accept an animal as a Demi-god; and long before he joined the Congress he had expressed himself in the following words:

> "Some of the questions that embitter Hindu-Muslims feelings are, owing to a variety of causes, unfortunately assuming grave propostions. One of these questions relates, of course, to the killing of cows. We have no reason to be little the stand-point of an orthodox Hindu on the subject, and we recognise the strength of his religious feeling to the full. But, even after recognising all this, we still fail to see that the sacrifice of the cows by the *Mussalmans* on the occasion of *Bakr-I'd* should lead to riots. The essential fact which the Hindus are apt to forget is that a cow is to a *Mussalman*, as indeed to every non-Hindu, a mere cow and nothing more. He cannot reasonably be asked to revise his estimate of the utility of the animal, simply because a section of the Indian people invest it with sacred characther. Unfortunately, however, the influence of the educated Hindus has greatly complicated the problem, and some of them have begun to exploit it as a political war-cry....These tactics, more than any thing else, would lead to the increase in the slaughter of cows, for it would be idle to expect that the *Mussalmans* would give up the exercise of what they regard as their natural right at the

bidding of fanatical and aggressive mobs."

Comrade p-441-1912

However, on the assumption of the Presidential chair he had to deal with this important and delicate question of 'Cow-killing'; and, though he could have expressed himself in round about ways or tendered his advice to the Muslims to refrain from eating beaf for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity yet he very ably explained, that the Muslims had never been fond of beaf for the sake of beaf, but they found it cheaper than mutton, and that their purchasing power being low they had naturally to rush for the cheaper market. In his own words:

> "The only safe and sure way of stopping cow-killing in this case is to take steps to lower the price of mutton which is prohibitively high, and thus reduce the very large margin that there is at present between the prices of mutton and beaf ......I cannot help pointing out that by far the most numerous owners of cows are the Hindu, and if they did not sell cows after they had ceased to give milk, there would be much less cow-killing than there is to-day."

> "Muslims in India who can afford to purchase the dearer mutton eat beaf only on rare occasions. But for the poor town-folk among the Muslims it is the staple food. Coming from the centre of

Rohilkhand, or the land of the Rohillas, I know how difficult it is for them to discontinue the use of beaf in the present circumstances. The Pathan cannot suppress his surprise when he comes across people in India who 'eat corn with corn'; and Rampur wags say: 'Let there be meat if it be a dog's."

Could any Muslim other than Mohamed Ali dare to utter such words in any place much less as the President of the All India Congress Committee and presiding over its annual session?

On Shuddhi and Tabligh movements

While Mohamed Ali was in jail, the Hindu Mahasabha tried its best once again to play one community against the other. Meanwhile some mysterious hands began to move. A prominent Hindu leader Swami Shardhanand, who was behind the bars was released unexpectedly. Just after his release from the jail he started a new movement under the name of *Shuddhi* (meaning purification) and *Sanghthan* (unity), to 'purify the Muslims and convert them to Hindu'. Forces of disruption were let loose. They first attacked the ignorant and illiterate Malkana Rajputs. Propaganda on a wide scale was launched, showing that thousands of the Malkana Rajputs had been converted to Hinduism. The Muslims who were fighting for the safety of their religion and faith and that of the Turks could not bear

such an attack in their own county. Sentiments were aroused and steps were taken to counteract this folly. Several Muslim missionery bodies sprang up in no time. Many nationalists and socialists were swept away by the fury of the movent, and prominent Hindus and Muslims joined the two opposit camps. Among the Muslims Dr. Saif-ud-din, the President of the All India Khilafat Committee, left the organisation and started a new movement under the name of *Tanzeem*, to counteract the *Shuddhi* and *Sanghthan* movements. He even started a daily paper articled "*Tanzeem*" from Amritsar to further his objection.

Both the Hindus and the Muslims began to cry in a similar strain. Those who were a few days ago marching abreast to unitedly oppose the Government, fell a prey to the new moves. Gandhi did not try to pacify or influence the fighting forces. The non-co-operation movement, which had gained all round support was abruptly suspended by Gandhi on the occurrence of some violence in a single place called Churichura, near Gorakhpur. Gandhi's decision or retracing the steps proved to be a death blow to the national movement, which was openly condemned by the press and from the plateform as an 'Himalayan Blunder'. This blunder helped those who were disrupting the masses. Gandhi in reality did not dare or care to face the Hindu Mahasabha and its leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya, Moonje, Aney, Shardhanand, and others, who were also holding commanding positions and influence in

the Congress organisation. Though Gandhi continued touring the country he achieved little success. In due course he was arrested, to his liking, and sentenced to remain behind the bars. The Government had indiscriminately arrested thousands upon thousands of the political workers, and all the leaders of nationalist view, were shoved in jails. The common man fell a prey to the cunning and crafty opportunists and the stooges of the aliem rulers.

Dealing with the said *Shuddhi* and *Tabligh*, the Congress President said that the Hinduism had never been declared a Missionery Religion; however, every community in his opinion was at liberty to propagate her religion but with out coerosin or intimidation, and dealing with the question at length he said that personally, in view of the prevailing Movements under various names, whether run by Hindus or Muslims, he was honestly of the opinion:

> "..... that both the sides are working with an eye on decennial Census than on heaven itself."

Hindu—Muslim Unity

Discussing Hindu-Muslim unity, the most paramount question of the day, and to achieve this was his cherished desire, he said.

> "So many efforts, well-meaning as well as was illbegotten, have failed in bringing unity to this

distracted land, that we cannot spare even cheap and scentless flowers of sentiments for the grave of an-other ill-judged endeavour. We shall not make the mistake of gumming together pieces of broken glass, and then cry over the unsuccessful result, or blame the refractory material. In other words we shall endeavour to face the situation boldly, and respect facts, facts howsoever ugly and ill-favoured. It is poor statemanship to slur over inconenient realities, and not the least important success in achieving unity is the honest and frank recognition of deep-seated prejudices that hinder it and the yawning differences that divide." And added, "Let as begin with honest prose, and the Muses will not forbid the banns. Even this is no easy task. But it is one worthy of the sons and daughters of India, and deserve their toil and self-sacrifice-Unity.

Though wilt come, joint men, knit nation unto nation; But not for us who watch to-day and burn.
Thou wilt come; but after what long years of trial,
Weary watching, patient longing, dull denial."

Hindu Muslim designs against each other already lost:

Towards the end of his Presidential speech he addressed the audiance in the following words:

"One thing is certain, and it is this that neither the Hindus exterminate the Muslims today nor can the

Muslims get rid of the Hindus. If the Hindus entertain any such design they must know that they lost their opportunity when Mohammad bin Qasim landed on the soil of Sind twelve hundred years ago. Then the Muslims were few, and today they number more than seventy millions. And if the Muslims entertain similar notions, they too have lost their opportunity. They should have wiped out the whole bread of Hindus when they ruled from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Chittagong. And as the Persian proverb says, the blow that is recalled after the first fight must be struck on one's own jaw. If they cannot get rid of one another, the only thing to do is to settle down to co-operate with one another and while the Muslims must remove all doubts from the Hindu minds about their desire for *Sawaraj* for its own sake and their readiness to resist all foreign aggression, the Hindu must similarly remove from the Muslim minds all apprehensions that the Hindu majority synonymous with Muslim servitude." And added, "Remember, it is only the weak who fear to appear too weak to others. With this observation I take my leave of this question without a proper and a lasting settlement of which we can effect nothing."

Jawaharlal Appointed Secretary.

Mohamed Ali on assuming the Presidential office

was hard pressed by Gandhi, Motilal Nehru and others to accept Jawaharlal Nehru as the General Secretary of the Congress, so that under his guidance he should gain experience and make his future more bright. Mohamed Ali could have no hesitation in having a young energetic youth to work under him; and Jawaharlal served obediently and affectionately and we do not hear any complaint against him by the President and Jawaharlal himself admits that,

> "both of us felt that some other Secretary might not be able to work as hormoniously with the new President as I could,"

Though afterwards, contrary to facts, posing himself to be a leader of first rank at that time, he inserted in his Autobiography the following trash :

> "Mohamed Ali induced we, *much against my will* to accept the All India Congress secretaryship for his year of presidentship. P—117.

However, they worked smoothly, in a most friendly and co-operative way through in the opinion of Jawaharlal, Mohamed Ali was.

> "......deeply and, as I considered, most irrationally religious and I was not, but I was attracted by his earnestness, his over-flowing energy and keen intelligence. "P—117*

On Religious Views of Mohamed Ali.

Regarding Mohamed Ali's religious affection and love Jawaharlal unhesitatingly writes:

> "......frequent subject for agument between us was the Almighty. Mohamed Ali had an extraordinary way of bringing in some reference to God even in Congress resolutions, either by way of expressing gratitude or some kind of prayer. I used to protest, and then he would shout at me for my irreligion. Any yet, curiously enough, he would tell me that he was quite sure that I was fundamentally religious, in spite of my superficial behaviour or my declaration to the contrary. P-118

And further adds:

> "'He burst out one day, as I was visting him in his house in Delhi, and said that he insisted on discussing religion with me. I tried to disuade him, pointing out that our view points were very different, and we were not likely to make much impression on each other. But he was not going to be diverted. "We must have it out, 'he said, 'I suppose you think that I am a fanatic. Well, I am going to show you that I am not.'......He told me that he had studied the subject of religion deeply and extensively. He pointed out shelves full of books on various religions, especially Islam and Christianity and including some modern books

like H. G. Wells', *God, the Invisible King*. ......He accepted it (The Quran) as 100% correct. P–119* And added, "that he was quite certain that if any one read the Quran with an open and reseptive mind, he would be convinced of its truth. He knew (he added) that *Bapu* (Gandhiji) had read it carefully, and he must, therefore, have been convinced of the truth of Islam. But his pride of heard had kept him from declaring this." P–119*

Jawaharlal and Religion:

Jawaharlal used to pose himself as one not believing in any religion' which indicates that either he was not well equipped with religious education or was under the influence of socialism which was raising its head, in its present form during those days. He tried to veil his religious face and under such circumstances he naturally avoided any discussion on religious topics. His so called disconnection with any religion may be called 'superficial'. As, had he been not a believer in Hinduism he would have not performed religious rites, accordining to Hindu customs, on the death of his father, Motilal Nehru. And further, when the Government of the United Provinces prohibited bathing on a particular occasion, at the junction of the Ganges and Jamuna, so sacred a place for Hindus, and Madan Mohan Malaviya not only criticised the ban on religious ground but also started *Satyagarah*, the very *irreligious* Jawaharlal jumped into the movement to court arrest,

though, in his own words, Malaviya had startad the movement. 'from the religious point of view' and adds that, "The Government was perfectly justified in taking precautions to prevent accident and possible serious lose of life ......"P—122* Strange enough, a denouncer of religion joins *Satyagarah* in support of religious sentiments expressed by Malaviya and at the same time justifies the Government action, and when his father, Motilal Nehru, died, Jawaharlal performed all the religious rites or ceremonies himself, as an orthodox Hindu. And still further, on his own death all in ceremonies of Hindu religion were performed. His denouncing of religion was nothing short of hypoeracy.

On The
Thorny Path

KHILAFAT AND THE TURKS.

It has been fully explained in the previous pages that on Mohamed Ali's release from Bijapur Jail he found the whole country in a melting pot sizzling with communal fire, and that leaving his dying daughter to bear own fate he toured the country, trying his best to reunite the divided Indian for the struggle to free the soil from the iron heels of the foreigners. He bravely fought on all the four fronts; On one side he was facing the communalists Hindus and Muslims alike on the other he had hundred and one difficulties in his way to keep even the Congressites united, the third was the new announcement of the Turks regarding the abolition of the *Khilafat* institution, and on the fourth were the British with high and haughty air of a victor in the world war. The most crucial question was that of the *Khilafat*. The Turks had defended the institution for the last so many centuries with their blood and sacrifices, and, they all along this period had been target of the atrocities of the Western Power and the ceaseless crusade of the non-Muslims. It is a most tragic and painful story that with all such attacks from outside they were also

stabled in the back from within through the Palace intrigues and the pharisaical conduct of religious divines. Naturally the nation was fed up with the circumstances nevertheless in the name of Islam they never hesitated to offer any sacrifice time demanded of them. Even in the First World War when they were defeated they refused to surrender and some of the members of this brave nation taking refuge in the hilly tracts of *Angora* (Ankara), tried and were successful in reuniting their scattered brothern, formed a National Army under the guidance of that Great Turks, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who later on became the first President of the Turkish Republic.

They left no stone unturned to regain the lost Empire and tried their best to keep the Flag of Turkey flying high on the turkish soil, but, again the Palace intrigues came in their way, the brave warriors were denounced as enemies of Islam and of the Empire. *Fatwas* were issued labellisg them as rebels liable to be hanged not by any ordinary religious divine but by the head of them all, the *Shaikhul-Islam* of Turkey and supported by the *Sultan*, a stoog of the Allies. This drove the Nationalist Turks to desparation and they, thinking that all their troubles were due to their supporting the *Khilafat* institution abolished it altogether. They failed to think of no other remedy or reform and decided upon the drastic step.

"On Saturday, the first of March 1924, the 8th of Pisees, 1302, S. H., and the 26th of Rajab, 1342 H" writes Professor Moulvi Barkatullah, a famous national worker of India, "L. H. Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the President of the Angora Republic, proposed the abolition of the institution of *Khilafat*, the expulsion of the *Khalifa's* family, and the confiscation of their property; on Monday the Grand National Assembly passed the bill by an overwhelming majority; and at two o'clock Tuesday morning the Vali of Constantinople and the Director General of Public Security, accompanied by police, proceeded to the Dolma Bagahen Palace, where they ordered the Khalif to seat himself on the throne, where upon the decree declaring his disposition was read. The Khalif was then commanded to descend from the throne and make arrangements for his immediate departure. An hour later, accompanied by his two wives and his son, he was conveyed by motor-car to Chatalja, where a special train was in readiness for his departure. Thus an institution hallowed with traditions of thirteen centuries, an embodiment of might and grandeur of the Orient in the eyes of European nations and a shield of defence for Islam during the last four hundred years, passed away as if in a twinkling of an eye." "The Khilafat"

The announcement came as the severest shock to slim and specially to the Ali Brothers, who had

been fearlessly fighting for its cause; and whose importance Mohamed Ali had so ably impressed on the world opinion and specially on the British Cabinet, even on His Holiness the Pope and the Government of India. Ironically enough when this tragic announcement came the whole Muslim population was backing the *Khilafat* and its cause, and even children were singing, *Jan Beta Khilafat pe dede* (Son, sacrifice yourself for the *Khilafat.*)

Abolition of 'Khilafat'.

The abolition of the very institution of *Khilafat* by Mustafa Kemal was an Himaliyan blunder on his part. He took shelter behind the pretext of being always in troubled waters for the sake of the same while, in fact, no neighbouring power attacked Turkey on that count; rather it was the mean desires of the European Powers to extinguished the Muslim State on that soil – irrespective the existence or non-existence of the *Khilafat. Khilafat*, in fact, had lost its grandeur and influence, centuries ago and the title of *Khalifa* had remained nominal appendage of the Ottoman rulers. The European powers could not been unaware of the actual political power of the *Khilafa* and in addition to this they had already seen with their own eyes that none of the Muslim Powers considered it necessary to rush and help their *Khalifa* when he was attacked, rather the Arabs, who believed in the institution, stabbed him in the back. Undoubtedly, the Turks had suffered under

the despotic rulers supported by the so-called religious devines, the *Ulema*, but the system of un-Islamic family rule had already been cut down by Anwar Pasha and his comrades and a constitutional Government was in the making. Under these circumstances there could have been no justification for Mustafa Kemal to abolish *Khilafat*, which could have become or developed into a pivot point for Muslims' unity.

It should be kept in view that there existed two schools of thoughts at the time, one led by Anwar Pasha and the other by Kemal. The first named being religious minded believed in the universal Muslim-brotherhood while the latter had no appreciable liking for Islamic universility and had pinned its faith in Nationhood. Kemal were the first who declared that 'Turkey was for the Turks', and went to the extent of prohibiting the teaching of Arabic language, reciting Holy Quran and prayers in Arabic and practically crushed and killed each and every one to keep the road open and clear for his Dictatorship. In spite of all that, Mustafa Kemal, there is no denying the fact, bravely and couragiously fought for the cause of the Turks and not only saved the Turkish Empire from total ruination but also established its dignity. He deserves all praise and his services shall ever remain decorating the history of the Turks, yet it cannot justify the unwise step taken by him to destory the *Khilafat*, the rallying point for Muslims. This uncalled for step

proved a happy augury for European Power who had all along been trembling under the fear of a Pan-Islamic Move appearing at any time. Referring to the same a British writer says:

> "The summary action of the new Turkish Republic in deposing the Sultan, abolishing the *Khilafat*, and sending the last of the historical house of Osman to wander a penniless fugitive, in foreign lands, has given the final blow to the Pan-Islamist Movement in India*.........

Muslim India had whole heartedly supported the Turks in the wars. They offered them every thing it was in their power to give. They could never expect such a heavy blow from that side and became dumbfounded. After supporting them for years they could not utter a single word against the Turks and were in a very awkward position. But. a leader like Mohamed Ali could not be awayed by expediency, so while all others kept mum, Mohamed Ali severally criticised Mustafa Kemal's policy, giving least consideration that he was praising the man till the last.

Most Critical Situation Faced.

Is was a most dangerous situation ever encountered but the able hands of the Ali Brothers held the field and could not let the front get disrupted. Along

*P—174. (India as Iknew it)

with the question of *Khilafat* they had also in view the freedom of their own country. Courage alone could save the situation and Mohamed Ali had the requisite quality in him, backed by that of his elder brother, Shaukat Ali. It would not be difficult for a student of history to visulise the situation prevailing at the time; when the Hindus and the Muslims were facing each other on communal questions, the Congress suffered from internal bickerings and dissentions, and the opportunists were exploiting the situation for their own selfish ends. With it the *Ram-Rajia* minded Hindus were out to divert Muslims' attention from the *Khilafat* and were inducing them to follow the Hindu lead and thrown their lot with th Congress, and in addition to all this the British Governmen was there to crush and smash the national movements,

In fact, the Ali Brothers were the only personalities throughout the country who so daringly stood against all odds and remained unflinchingly at their guns propagating the cause of natioual freedom and the Muslim unity. Even the man of the status of Gandhi, the accredited and most trusted leader of the Hindus, failed to show moral courage to oppose his community as the Ali brothers has bravely done.

Generally the leader of the time were either trying to save their own positions and popularity or were hypocratically playing a double faced game. Undoubtedly, there were a few exceptions but those also did

not been the courage to openly come forward to give vent is their inner voice, loots, arsons and killing became the order of the day, giving good chances to the alien Rulers to crush them at will.

A Look on Gandhi's Simple Life.

Bring these days of disturbances Gandhi arrived at Delhi where Mohamed Ali played host to him. The Mahatma with all his paraphernalia was lodged at Mohamed Ali's office and necessary arrangements were made for his comfort. It would not be out of place to mention here a few words regarding the daily life of Gandhi, Proverbially, he used to live a very simple life, and the simplicity was the broadcast throughout the world. He had only a piece of *Khaddar* (hand woven) cloth to wrap round his loins with a costly watch hanging on his side. His diet was also wery *Simple* and consisted of goats milk, the goats always accompanied him during the journeys and remained at hand to offer milk whenever required. In adition to the said milk a few glasses full of orange or other fruit juices were included in the memo, and also *Simple* dishes of dry fruits were placed before him, all costing to at a moderate estimate not less than Rs. 8 per day in those days; and this simplicity was deemed to be his 'ornament' when poverty stalked the land and the per capita income of an Indian was considered to be six paisa (9 new paisa) per day: He used to travel in third class railway compartments, and once replying to a journa-

list he remarked that he he did so 'as the fourth class was not available.' This was another sing of his much vaunted simplicity. Undoubtedly he always travelled in third class compartments bnt the curious and critical eyes never found a single chance to see him with the ordinary third class passengers, normally jam-packed like sheep in third class carriages. As a rule a third class compartment was *reserved* for him and it was furnished with snow-while *Khaddar* sheets spread all over the seats dotted with small and big pillows and cushions: The carriage meant for about forty passengers was (if at all) shared by Gandhi with a few selected compartriots or some waiters and menials. Such was the mode of his *Simple* third class travelling: Those who accompanied Gandhi's tours had to change their habits and become vegetarians. Mohamed Ali, the host, had also to arrange for his respected guest the luxuries stated above. His own house turned into a vegetarian's house out of regard of his distinguished guest; those Mohamed Ali himself wos not accustomed to vegetarian dishes and was not, like other Rohilla Pathans, addicted to eating corn with corn.'

The Kohat Tragedy.

The revert to the subject under discussion along with other places a communal clash occurred at Kohat in the North West Frontier Province where the Hindus allegedly suffered more as they were in minority. Overlooking the rioteous situation prevailing in the Hindu

majority provinces where the Muslims were subjected to continuous tortures, Gandhi took a serious view of the happenings at Kohat, and without informing or consulting his co-workers, friends or followers, declared to be entering a 21 day *bart* (fast) on September 18, 1924, just at the time when Mohamed Ali was attending a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Jamia Millia Islamia (National Muslim University) under the presidentship of Dr. M. A. Ansari, in the house of Hakeem Ajmal Khan. This was Gandhi's day of silence', which he usually observed once a week. However, when the news was broken to the abovementioned leaders and they returned to Mehamed Ali's residence the self prescribed time of Gandhi's silence had expired and he had begun to talk and answer questions with a smile as usual.

It could not be called a wise step as there had been so many riots where the Muslims were the only sufferers and declaring *bart* on a specific incident which had occured in a town having a Muslim majority, could only lead to the general conclution that Muslims were the only aggressors, and secondly he was staying with a Muslim, Mohamed Ali, and in case of his death the Muslims would have been doubted and as murderers. Mohamed Ali realising the danger shead, tried to induce Gandhi struck to his decision, so much so that even an appeal by Bi Amman, whom Gandhi called mother, sent from her sick-bed failed to move him. A straight forward

and outspoken leader like Mohamed Ali could not take the matter lying down. He began to argue with Gandhi but to no avail. Mohamed Ali became furious when Gandhi replying to an agrument said that he had given a pledge to God, and rebuked him saying, 'Pledges made after hasty decisions have no value, 'and added' 'The Quran which you also believe to be a true word of God, had condemned such pledges, 'and recited the a verse from the Holy Book:

Failing to induce him to retrace his steps Mohamed Ali said in anger, 'You always declare that you never take any step without consulting Shaukat Ali and your action is exactly to the contrary. You ought to have waited his arrival.' And when Gandhi replied, 'Shaukat Ali would agree with me, he is a soldier;' Mohamed Ali quickly retorted 'Soldier? why don't you say he is your slave?' The significance of these remarks do not require any explanation. However, Gandhi continued his fast and survived to the great relief of the Muslims.

A few days after an Enquiry Committee was appointed by the Congress consisting of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali to enqiure into the Kohat affairs. They proceeded to hold sittings at Kohat but the Frontier Government banned their entry into the Province under the Frontier Crimes Regulations thus they had to sit at Rawalpindi for the purpose. The Hindus of Kohat who after the disturbances had fled to Rawalpindi took the opportunity aud appeared before the Enquiry

Committee in great numbers while the Muslims of Kohat had official hurdles in their way to reach Rawalpindi and only a few of them could appear to offer their statements, Shaukat Ali was to the view that unless the Muslims of Kohat were fully heared the Report should not be published. But Gandhi did not agree and declared his views based on the onesided statements. This annoyed Shoukat Ali, who calling it an exparte decision refused to sign. From this time differences between the two great leaders began to develop and continued to increase and were not reconciled till the last.

Khilafat Committee Saved from Dissolution.

In view of the dangerous condition of the country and the abolition of the *Khilafat* meny Muslim leaders appeared to have been disguested and gave up all hopes for the future.

Many Hindu leaders who did not, and could not, like to see, Muslims united, tried to exploit the situation and began to tender their advice to give up all attempts for the revival of the *Khilafat* or keeping the *Khilafat* Committee alive. They tried to induce them to throw in their lot with the Indian National Congress and to have no separate political body of their own. The Ali Brothers who were the 'body and soul' of the *Khilafat* Movement very actually hit, and hit hard, but bravely they faced the adverse situation. Many of their co-workers, under the influence of the non-Muslims or

owning to their shortsightendness began to plead in the same strain as the interested Hindus; and many prominent workers openly demanded the dissolution of the *Khilafat* Committee. They argued 'where was the use of keeping an organisation alive in the name of the *Khilafat* when the institution itself had already been abolished? To move the Ali Brothers as impossible as it was move a mountain from its place. They bravely struck to their gun and retirted; 'If thh Turks had abolished *Khilafat* where was the justification to give up the idea of the uniting Muslims all the world over, and secondly the *Khilafat* Committee had pledged to fight for the freedom of India. and where was the justification to give up this sacred caused by dissolving *Khilafvt* Committee.

Facing all odds and hazards the Ali Brothers carried on with their mission paying no heed to ups and downs of the way and kept the *Khilafat* Committee alive. The Turks' decision was no doubt, the rudest shock. Mohamed Ali bore it well, but it had a very deliterious effect on the health of Shaukat Ali. At one stage he was believed to be on the point of losing his life. Even in such a critical condition when he heard that Mohamed Ali was hesitent to join the *Khilvfot* Conference which was to be held at Calcutta owing to his illness, he forevailed upon Mohamed Ali to proceed immediately and join the delibrations leaving him in the hands of Almighty Allah, as national duty in the

eyes of Shaukat Ali was more important than his own life. So Mohamed Ali leaving his fatherly-brother almost in the jaws of death, prepared to join the *Khilafat* Conference, just as had once left his beloved daughter, Amena, to her fate, when the demands of national duties had didated separation. But, scarcely had the conference ended when he received the disturbing news of severe aggravation of symtoms, suffered by Shaukat Ali, and had to rush to Delhi to be present by his bedside. Here too he could not get any leisure to nurse his elder brother as he was soon re-called to duty as his presence was urgently needed by Jamia Millia Islamia at Aligarh.

Murtads' Death – A New Controversy:

During the same period when the Hindus under Gandhi's guidance were active against the Ali Brothers several heart-breaking questions were crept in, such as, the abolition of *Khilafat,* and Sultan Ibn Saud and Sharif Hussain's claim over the sacred Hijaz. The abolition of *Khilafat* by the Turks injured the feelings of the Muslims all over the world and the claims of Ibn Saud and Sharif Hussain divided the Indian Muslims into two warring camps, of which the Congress, under the guidance of Gandhi made capital by supporting the anti-Ali Brothers parties, or organisations. The said fuel to the fire, another news crossed the border to the effect that to members of the Qadiani Sect were sentenced to death for joining the said sect, and thus

alleged by becoming ***Murtads*** (Appostats). A controversy started whether the sentence was in accordance with the dictates of Islam or otherwise. Many of the *Ulema* supported the step taken by the Government of Afghanistan while Mohamed Ali took exception to it, and wrote forceful articles in his paper, the *Hamdard*. This placed another weapon in the hands of his opponents, and the Urdu Press under the influence of his opponents was up in aams against him. Mohamed Ali though in bad health yet unhestitatingly stood up to face the on slaught and his forceful logical articles based on Islamic teachings demolished the opposition in the long run.

Crossed Swords winh Hassan Nizami:

On another front, Khwaja Hassan Nizami, a prominent *Sajjadanashin*, a welknown brilliant writer and a master propagandist entered the field in opposition. He was the man who had once read an address of welcome, highly praising the Ali Brothers, at the time when they were released from jail. But as in love and war, changing occur overnight the mood of the Khawaja had also changed and he was then daggers drawn with Mohamed Ali. The pivotal point was a letter reproduced in the *Hamdard* allegedly written by the Khawaja to the Government against His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. This publication created a commosion. Camps were pitched and guns were set right. Undoubtedly to face the Khwaja —an acknowledged

master-propagandist– was not an easy job. Had there been any other person than the lion-hearded Mohamed Ali he would have not only yielded but had also prostrated before the Khwaja. In spite of the fact that the Khwaja already owned several Papers, a new 'big gun', *Gharibunka-Akhbar*, was brought into the field and, in addition, several pamphlets and books, such as, "*Jang-e-Siffin*" were issued to meet the challenge. Mohamed All was not slow in lashing the opposition. His friends and admirers requested him to drop the controversy with the Khwaja who could not possibly claim moral or literary equality with Mohamed Ali. Mohamed Ali was however adamantive and wonld not leave the Khwaja till his 'guns' were completely silenced and he had to like the dust.

A Book, Insulting Islam, Published:

It has been stated in the previous pages that the Hindus had been opposing Mohamed Ali tooth and nail but in spite of all this he remained attached to the Congress and when a friend questioned him, he confidently replied that in case the Hindu Mahasabhites and similar others of the communal organisations did not think of leaving the Congress why should he abandon the membership and allow the communalists to work it at will. He added that by remaining in the inner circle he could at least interefere, and put obstacles, in their game of creating mischief for the Muslims. Actually he had lost all love for the Congress when he felt that most of the

Hindues did not like and appreciate his views expressed at the Congress session held at Cocanada in 1923. However, he was pulling on with the Congress for political reasons. During this unfortunate year of 1927, the Hindu publishers began to issue books condemning Islam and even the Most Sacred Person of all times the Holy Prophet of Islam, was not spared. A reference to such a publisher, Rajpal, has already been made. His publication created wide-spread resentment among the Muslims. The book was challenged and legal case was filed before the High Court of the Punjab, under Section 295 of the Indian Penal Code. Mr. Justice Daleep Sing heard the case and declared that in spite of the objecttionable passages of the book it did not fall under the purview of the said Section. This decision proved a spark to rouse the whole community. Muslims throughout the country were purturbed. Resentment increased by leaps and bounds and an allround demand was made for the removal of Daleep Sing. It was generally considered that Mr. Justice Daleep Sing was a Sikh and had favoured the Hindus, while in fact, he was a Christian and had not taken sides. Mohamed Ali was confined to his bed and no statement from his pen appeared for a few days, which gave another weapon to his opponents to dub him as pro-Hindu. Mohamed Ali was not in the habit of making hasty decisions in important matters and at this juncture too he could not express himself without seriously considering over the question which was very important in itself.

No Fault of the Judge but of the Law:

> "Maulana Mohamed Ali, whose feelings were injured to the core," writes Mohamed Noman in his *Muslim India*, "wrote leading articles in his paper, and in one of his articles he analysed the offence and stated that it was a synthesis of six different offences but Mr. Daleep Sing is the first Judge of the High Court, who brought home to the Mussalmans that none of these offences was an offence as insulting the Founder of Mussalmans, insulting the religion of Mussalmans, attampting to bring the religion of Mussalmans into hatred, wounding the feelings of Mussalmans and attempting to bring Mussalman into contempt." P—247

In short, he came out with a statement and ignoring the agitation declared that the fault rested with the Law and not with the Judge, and advised the muslims to strike at they very root and have the law amended. It was not an easy job to convince the whole community specially when the whole of the Muslim Press was leading the agitation in one and the same direction and demanding the removal of the Judge. But, Mohamed Ali was never a man to fear opposition. He struck to his own point of view. A huge public meeting was to be held at Lahore and a demand of the removal of the Judge was to be moved in it. Muslim leaders in Lahore jealous of Mohamed Ali's popularity thought it a golden chance to defame him

publicly, but to their misfortune Mian Feroze-ud-din Ahmed a prominent *Khilafatist*, while having a telephonic conversation with Mohamed Ali, who was at Delhi, accidently referred about the holding of the said meeting; and to his surprise Mohamed Ali disclosed that he was leaving for Lahore to face the situation. Mian Feroze-ud-din was naturally perturbed as he could not bear to see Mohamed Ali in such an ocean of opposition and tried to induce him not to go to Lahore. But, he had not yet completed his sentence when prompt came the reply: "Dont' be afraid on my behalf don't help me and don't entertain me;" and with it the telephone line was disconnected.

However, Mohamed Ali arrived and put himself on the way to Jama Masjid as it was a Friday and saw the many of the leaders assembled there. When he entered the mosque in such a critical situation some from the audiance even jeered at him but he kept quiet and threaded his way to sit near the place from where the speeches were to be made. The leaders present there seeing Mohamed Ali among themselves became perturbed as they knew the force of his addresses and his dynamic approach to problems. One prominent among them trying to hit him first and to lower his prestige among the audiance said aloud, "Brothers, Maulana Mohamed Ali is our honourable guest therefore no jeering or hooting be indulged in" Mohamed Ali jumped to his feet and retorted thus, "Dear Brothers, he is uttering a lie in the house of God. I am here as a Muslim

and not the guest of any one. I do not like to interfere in their meeting or speeches, but would be expressing myself after they have concluded, and any one of you who likes to hear me may please wait for a while after their speeches."

The organisers of the meeting felt assured that they had lost the game, speeches were made and one after the other they left the meeting while the audiance remained in tact to hear their leader. Mohamed Ali rose to speak but was not acclaimed as usual and a very few customery slogans were heard. He recited a portion from the Holy Quran and began to unfold the intricacies of the case which had been before the High Court and the law under which it was decided. He forcefully refuted the theory put before them by the leaders of the movement who were clamouring for the removal of the leaders of the movement who were clamouring for the removal of the Judge and spoke in such a forceful strain that when he concluded his speech all the audiance, with a few exception to prove the rule, were shouting with him in the same voice, demanding an amendment in the law. And a few days had hardly been passed when the whole Muslim community calmly and seriously joined him in the struggle. His wisdom and legal knowledge commanded praise. An amendment to Section 295 was moved in the Legislative Assembly and was adopted as Section 295–A; the wordings of which admittedly were given the final shape by Mohamed Ali himself.

Shardhanand killed by Ghazi Abdur-Rashid:

Writings of insulting nature became order of the day. Muslim feelings got agitated to the highest pitch and the Muslims of all shade of opinion were then seem sailing in the same boat. They were perturbed to such an extent that even a man of the position of Mohamed Ali openly declared that if Government and its law failed to stop such foul acts he would be the first Muslim to take the law into his own hands and would break the neck of the culprits. The blood of the Muslims had reached the boiling point and some brave Muslim youths even killled a few of those who had insulted the Holy Prophet of Islam at Lahore, Delhi and Calcutta Swami Shardhanand, a very prominent Hindu religious leader and political worker, who after having been mysteriously released fromsjail had started *Shuddhi-Sanghthan* Movement, was foremost to mis-represent Islam and its teachings. He had ledged an all out movement to defame Islam and to mis-represent *Quranic* teachings and tried to mis-lead the innocent uheducated villagers. His ill-conceived expedition had the fullest of the Hindu press, communalists or nationalists, Congresites, or non-Congressites. Exaggerated and bogus figures of the Muslims converted to Hinduism were widely published and circulated. The result was that a brave son of Islam, Ghazi Abdur-Rashid losing his mental balance under the shock jumped at the throat of Swami Shardhanand and killed for nothing but to protect the honour of Islam and the Holy Prophet.

This proved a signal for the clashes between Hindus and Muslims, and the situation took a serious turn. The Hindus began to clamour for revenge and could see none but the Ali Brothers to make their target. Mohamed Ali at this time was in Assam participating in the Congress session held at Gohati. Rumours were spreading like jungle fire that the Ali Brothers would be killed at any moment. Muslims of all shades of opinion, even those who were bitterly opposed to the Ali Brothers could not brook their leaders getting assessinated. Many of their devotees in Delhi and from out side Delhi began to shadow the Brothers without disalosing themselves to save their lives. And at this juncture the Peshawar *Khilafat* Committee telegraphically asked permission for deputing fifty young *Khilafat* Volunteers to serve as a Body Guards at their own expenses. While the whole Muslim population was in a dilema, the Brothers themselves cared but little and did not show the slightest concern over all this hue and cry. Mohamed Ali in reply to the said telegram advised the *Khilafat* Committee not to waste time in guarding him who could look after himself and "utilise your energies in saving the Muslims and try to relieve them from the clutches of the foreigners." Shaukat Ali patted the Khilafatists saying, "Be brave, fight hard and never accept defeat," and added, "Shaukat Ali has a 1½ yards broad breast and powerful arms No one would have courage to break his head knocking against this steel-piller — Shaukat Ali". Gradually the storm calmed down but not before setting

the Hindu-Muslim unity to the four winds for ever.

Never Spared by Rivals and Opponents:

Mohamed Ali's opponents had never been slow in manufacturing road-blocks hetching intrigues and throwing blames on him. Some were burning with jealousy, some had fallen prey to their self-interests and yet there were others dancing to tunes broadcast from behind the political and diplomatic curtains. Ever-new charges were lavelled against the Brothers and apparently to refute or answer them was a task too unimportant for a busy politician like Mohamed Ali. However, occasionally he used to shock his opponents by paying them bad in the same coin. His traducers sometimes fell to such low level of moral degradation as to attribute to Mohamed Ali they wild any arrogant remarks that he considered his bath-room cleaner than Ka'aba. Can one expect such a foolish utterance from any of the meanest followers of Islam much less from Mohamed Ali who always remained up-in-arms for the protection of the same Ka'aba and osidered it the House of God. On another occasion he was accused to have made a *sijda* (Prostration) before Madan Mohan Malaviya Imagine, how a man, like Mohamed Ali, who would not concent to kneel before His Holiness the Pope on traditional lines, could have offered a *sijda* to a Hindu, idol-worshipper. The most serious and the most widely propagated charge hurled against the Ali Brothers was that of the mis-appropiration of the Turkish Relief Funds, though they had no direct concern with the

collection or the disbursement of the same. In fact, during the days they were rottening in jail the *Khilafat* Committee themselves launched a vigorous drive and collected about seventy-five lakhs rupees, thelion's share of which was collected under the supervision of Bi-Amma and Begum Mohamed Ali. The amount remitted to Turkey was about thirteen lakhs. Seth Haji Jan Mohammed Chotani, the famous millionaire and philinthopist of Bombay was at the time at the healm of the affairs as will as the treasurer of the Central *Khilafat* Committee Funds. In his personal business affairs he suffered a severe set back to the point of ruination. Under such critical circumstances and financial difficulties he was, unfortunately, advised to utilise the balance of the Turkish Relief Fund to save his position in the market, because a shrewed business-man could well expect to regain his balance by such a momentary financial aid. Unfortunately he failed in his expectations and could not keep business running and fell headlong in the financial ditch, not to raise his head again. Even under these disgusting and disastrous circumstances, it must be said to his credit that, he gave preference to *Khilafat* Committee over all other debtors and handed over to them his Woodworking Plant, its stock of wood, etc. and the building in which the machinery was situated at Sewry, Bombay; and which in any way was more than 50% of the amount due from him. Ali Brothers were never in the picture. Seth Chotani's action may be called a serious error of

judgement' but surely under no circumstances be styled 'dis-honesty' or 'mis-appropriation'. The man who had contributed lakhs and 'lakhs to the cause of Islam could not even think going so low as to become eager or inclined defulcate the national funds.

The collection and the disbursement were made, as stated above in the absence of the Brothers. Later on, a Turkish Delegation arrived to take delivery of the said property (Funds) and its members sold a part of the stocks of their own accord, for about rupees three lakhs and the remaining material including macinery was exported to Turkey under their own supervision. It is crystal clear that the Ali Brothers had nothing to do with said Funds and their opponents had only one object in view viz., to defame them by all possible means.

Mohamedali
and
Gandhi

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF SYED AHMAD KHAN

Mohamed Ali entered the field of politics just on return from Europe in 1902. and thereafter, though he remained in the State Civil Service at Rampur and Baroda, yet he never lagged behind in support of and stand for, the cause of the Muslims and his fatherland. The Indian National Congress had been working since 1885 but it failed to attract Mohamed Ali to its fold. Later on, when circumstances compelled the Muslims to creat a political organisation of their own, the Muslim League came into being in 1906 with Mohamed Ali bearing the pioneer's torch. Politically it was the fiirst step towards establishing Muslims' entity, separate representation for the Muslims who had become conscious of their separate identity as a community or nation with their own separate religion, culture, traditions and mode of living. At this juncture :

> "The Oxford educated, brilliant Mohamed Ali," writes Dr. I. H. Qureshi, "gradually came into the forefront. The Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 brought new disasters to the Muslim world. So

long as there were some conflict among the imperialist powers, the weaker countries of the Muslim world could eke out an existance by playing one power against another, but new grouping in Europe brought Russia, France and Great Britian together to the dismay of the weaker nations. Afghanistan, Iran, the Ottoman Empire, Morocco — all were adversely affected, and the Muslims of India fell deep consternation at the rapid enslavement of thes Muslim lands. Having lost their own freedom they had found consolation in the freedom of other Muslims. As they have no political axe of their own to grind, they could take a dispassionate view of the problems of the muslim world. It seemed to them that the major ill from which the world of Islam suffered was its lack of unity ; a diagnosis which was to prove Tragically true in the revolt of the Arabs against the Turks at the instigation of the British during the First World War, the dismemberment of the Arab world itself and the planting of the thorn of the state of Israel in the heart of Arab homeland. Highly emotional and altristic in their aims the Indian Muslims developed a strong love for the Muslim world ; this was perhaps one of the best examples of a patriotism into which considerations of self-interest did not enter and which was based upon the love of an ideal, not upon affection for any territory. Consumed with a passion to save the world of Islam

from disaster, which was not beyond human vision, and himself deeply religious, emotional and courageous, Mohamed Ali was a true representative of the Indian Muslims at this stage in respect of their loyalties and aspirations. He was not worried whether his policies and activities would annoy the British, for over a greater part of his life he found himself in conflict with them. His brilliant and powerful writings in his weekly review, The Comrade, were read with respect and avidity."

Jinnah Induced to Join Muslim League.

In short, the lead given by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was already bearing fruits and though Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Nawab Vaqar-ul-Mulk, Nawab Salimullah Khan and several other elderly Muslim dignatories were at the healm of Muslim affairs, yet, undoubtedly, it was the young Mohamed Ali, who was practically proving a successor to that great leader Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He successfully tried to infuse a living spirit in the Muslim League and was crowned with success to such an extent that the session of the Muslim League held 22nd and 23rd of March 1913 witnessed a most encouraging and revolutionary change in its tone and working. The trend of speeches turned from the internal community affairs to openly debating the county's politics, and the foreign policy of the British Government towards the Islamic world remained the target of attack. This was the first time that Pandit Bishan Narain, President

of the Congress, attended the Muslim League session and Mrs. Sarojni Naidu, the Knightingale of India, delivered a speech from the League's platform, where Mohamed Ali and Syed Wazir Hassan emerged undisputed heroes of the time. And during the same year of 1913 Mohamed Ali left for Europe in connection with the Cawnpore mosque affairs, and it is to his credit to have convinced Mohamed Ali Jinnah, a staunch Congressite, to sign the pledge and join the Muslim League.

Prior to Joining Indian National Congress.

He was following in the footsteps of Syed Ahmad Khan and for the time being thought it enjureous for Muslims to throw in theirl ot with the Hindus, who with the backing of the Government were marching ahead to achieve for themselves superiority in the field of politics caring but little for other communities which happened to be in minority. The cries of a Uuited India and of an Indian Nation rent the air in the Congress circles and the slogans filled the Press,which with a few exceptions was controlled by the Hindu finances. The Hindu leaders, every now aud then, openly declared "India for Indians" meaning "Hindus", and statements were continuosly issued to the effect that those born in the fold of Hindu were Indians and all immigrants from other countrie such as, Muslims, Parsees and Christians, were non-Hindus, and even those converted to Islam were either to rejoin the Hindu-family or had to leave the country bag and baggage. Obviously Mohamed Ali

could not subscribe oa surrender to such highhanded, drastic and communalistic views. He was ever seen striving hard and working assidously to achieve his sacred object, the inter-Muslim world unity, the solidarity of his community living in India and the Freedom of all Indians without distinction. He did not believe in caste, colour, creed or ethnological barriers and could not tolerate to see anyone groaning under the heavy burden of a foreign power. To the Muslims he said :

> "......trust human natur, trust yourself and trust God. Do not tolerate for a minute longer the slavery that keeps both body and soul in chains."

Hindu were well aware of his over increasing popularity which he had gained among his community, and which was exhibited by his boldly facing men like Lukmaniya Tilak and Gokhle, the most prominent Hindu leaders and the big guns of the Congress. The Hindu leadership had been at pains to win him over but they failed miserably. How could Mohamed Ali joined hands with Hindus when there existed open and glaring fundamental differences? The Hindu believed, and are still believing, in "On Nation" theory and considered themselves as the sole manopolists of all patriotism, while Mohamed Ali refuted the said theory and was fighting to keep intact the separate entity for his community, and had cearly indicated thus :

"Past history was ransacked for new political

formulas, and by natural and invitable process 'nationality' and 'patriotism' began to be associated with Hinduism. The Hindu 'communal patriot' sprange into existance with *'Swaraj'* as his war cry. He refuses to give quarter to the Muslims unless the latter quietly shuffles off his individuality and become completely Hinduised."

It was no secret that Mohamed Ali was responsible to a great extent in formulating a separate Muslim political organisation, the All India Muslim League in 1906, and had been advocating for separate representation for the Muslims since then. He was openly condemned by the Hindus and was labelled as a "Muslim communalist"; but, he turning a deaf ear to such utterances remained adament and struck to his convictions. Later on, getting an opportunity, he proved himself so bold and courageous as to have declared his views even from the Congress plateform while presiding over its annual session at Coconada in 1923. He never even considered the question of there being or existing a 'Single Nation' in India as defined by the Hindus or even by the Convention held on the soil of the subcontinent saying, that such "narrow prejudices" had "created nationality and killed humanity". Thus keeping and safeguarding separate entity for his community he had all along been ready and co-operative but honourably with any other community to strike, break and throw away the yoke of slavery, and realizing that the

Hindus and Muslims were not standing fundamentaly on equal footings had remarked :

> "We must clearly recognise that the Hindus and the Muslims dwell apart in thought and sentiment, that the Hindu 'patriot' is at times tolerant and grasping' that the dreams of the India that the Muslim is getting a little too clannish, that he is only dimly aware of what is means to feel a generous enthusiasm for such great secular causes as self-government and nationality, and that he broods over his loss and moves about in a world of unsubstancial shadows."

Joins The Indian Natioual Congress.

In short the Congress with all the powers of persuation and force at its command failed to win him over or attract or drag him to its fold. Both the camps of the Hindus and the Muslims remained separate, separately working to achieve their respective objectives. On the declaration of the First World War, 1914—1918, Mohamed Ali was sent behind the bars and in his long absence of about five years much water had run down the bridges. The British Government, going back on her words and promises to reward Indians for the services they had rendered during the war imposed and thrust on them repressive laws like the ill-famed Rowlett Act. On the other hand the Turks were declared to have been defeated by the British and her Allies and a

so-called Peace Conference was busy on the Continent to 'peacefully' slaughter the 'Sickman of Europe' tear off the Ottoman Empire into pieces and distribute the spoils among themselves· These political happenings compelled both the Hindus and the Muslims in forgetting their internal differences to join hands and agitate against the wrong done to them. The power drunk British Government instead of hearing their grievences replied with bullets and let loose her hounds under the command of the notorious Brigadier-General Dyre to kill as many of the Indians as they could. They obeyed and showered bullets on the unarmed gathering in Jillianwala Bagh at Amritsar, all around surrunded by buildings leaving only a narrow way for the audiance to exit.

Under such painful and critical situation the Ali Brothers were released from jail after spending five years' incarceration. Duty impelled them not to think of their family, their home, or their personal affairs, and rush to Amritsar where the *Khilafat*, the Muslim League and the Congress were holding their most important sessions. Gandhi had since emerged on the horizon as the leading figure of the Hindus and was at the healm of the united front facing the Government. The Ali Brothers were received by the Hindus and the Muslims unitedly with open arms; they were offered Delegates' tickets and were invited to address the Congress gathering. Mohamed Ali's farsightedness and the intelligence examined the situation and thought it expedient to co-

operative with the Hindus in the rapidly changing times and to induce and encourage them to give harder fight for the freedom of their country. So he declared his support to the Congress cause and, in return, won over Gandhi to co-operate with Muslims to achieve their cherished object; and Gandhi was not slow in announcing on behalf of the Hindu community all support for the *Khilafat* cause.

Thus, Mohamed Ali joined the congress and in less than four years, including tow years of jail life, in connection with the famous Karachi Trial he breaking all previous records, helped himself with the highest Congress office and presided over its annual session held 1923. The said Hindu—Muslim Unity may be described in the words of Mohamed Ali, thus:

> "It may not be a love marriage, born of romance and poetry. But a 'marriage de convenance' honourably contracted and honourably maintained, is not to be dispised."

The situation created after the imposition of Rowlett Act and Gandhi's co-operation with Muslims has been so aptly been described by our famous historian Dr. I. H. Qureshi in the following words:

> "The leadership of the Indian national movement had by now passed into the hands of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi who had developed a successful technique of agitation in South Africa. He saw

the advantage of using Hindu—Muslim discontent to advance the cause of Indian freedom. Mohamed Ali realised that the impact of an agitation by Indian Muslim would be greatly enhanced if the Hindus also agitated against the British Government. Thus the two leaders united and a mass agitation of great strength confronted the British.

"Gandhi could see that Indian Muslims, by demanding a fairer deal for Turks, did not injure the Indian cause in any manner, hence he saw no harm in supporting the *Khilafat* Movement. Certain sectors of Hindu opinion were, however, disturbed because they considered Pan-Islamism in any form a danger to India and particularly Indian Nationalism. The Muslims were happy that there should be this happy marriage between their Nationalism and pan-Islamism. They had come to believe that the greatest danger to the Muslim cause came from the British interests in India. To hold India it was necessary for the British to control the strategic points in the sea route between Great Britian and India, and because the Islamic world stood athwart that route, hence the British desire to dominate it. Therefore, to weaken British hold on India maent a lessening of pressure upon independent Muslim countries. The freedom of India was also worth every effort because Indian Muslims hoped that they would be full partners in such

freedom. The Muslim masses, it seemed had discovered a new patriotism ; from their desire to see a powerful Islam in the sub-continent, they were in all sincerity converted to the desire of leaving in a free India. The Non-co-operation Movement, which was evolved out of Gandhi's technique of *Satyagarah* or passive resistence for the vindification of a just cause, received canonical blessings from the doctors of Islamic Law. This emotional upsurge in favour of freedom and unity was so great that seemed that no practical difficulties could stand in the way of the evolution of a common nationhood in the sub-continent. The Muslims themselves were so ardent in this feeling that they made much greater sacrifices for the cause than any other community."

New Life Infused In The Congress.

Mohamed Ali was an acknowledged great soldier of Islam. He stood and fought for the righteous cause and appeared ever-ready to face all eventualities and hardships. The ups and downs of the time could never block his way. His friendship or enemity, his love or hatred, his support to a cause or its opposition and his likes and dislikes were all for the sake of God, for the prosperity of humanity and uplift of his nation and the country. He was one of those histoiical figures who with their super—human nature, ability and fersightedness try to reform and lift up the fallen and the degrad-

ed from their abject positions, and, make them stand up-right shoulder to shoulder with the independent progressive nations of the time. Such stars seldom appear on national horizon. But Almighty Allah was kind enough to bestow on the Indian Muslims such three star performers, namely : Syed Ahmad Sheed, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Mohamed Ali Jauhar, and to these we may rightly add Syed Jamal-ud-din Afghani who was born in Afghanistan.

In short, during the Congress session referred to above the Ali Brothers and Gandhi joined hands and vigorously tried to enhance the Hindu—Muslim unity. They toured the country but soon after Mohamed Ali had to leave the soil to lead the *Khilafat* Delegation to Europe ; whereupon Shaukat Ali carried Gandhi with himself at the expence—of the *Khilafat* Funds to strengthen the anti—Government Govement, and in the words of Gandhi, he "remained in the pocket of the Big Brothers." On return from Europe Mohamed Ali rejoined them and vesting profound trust in the great Hindu leader's sincerity and love for the freedom respected him as his father and recognised him as his own political leader. Thus the Ali Brothers infused in new life in the Congress as well as in the Movement for Liberty, of which the famous English writer, V. Sherall, justly and equitably assesses in the following words :

"The greatest responsibility for agitating the Muslim mind gainst the British Government rests on

the shoulders of the Ali Brrothers, who joining the Indian National Congress infused patriotic valour into the peace-loving Hindus, and, on the other hand had induced Muslims serving in the army to sedition."

Mohamed Ali became a symbol of Hindu Muslim unity, was respected as a National Hero, and praised as an undaunted warrior at large.

Hindu Leadership Disappoints.

Khilafat and Congress were practically considered synonymous and the Ali Brothers with their clear muslim mind served under both the organisations most sincerely and without any mental reservation. But, undoubtedly, there were some influencial Hindu leaders who could not see eye to eye with the Ali Brothers, and, in their heart of hearts they could not bear ta see their community influenced by these Brothers, whom their sacred mythology stigmatized as 'untouchables' and 'unclean'. Outwardly they remained quiet as they could not adopt any other course but latter on seeing the Hindu community duly organised they began to play hypocratical tactics. However, Gandhi remained with the Ali Brothers but the said Hindu leaders continuosly organised underhand movements against them. Conspiracies were hetched so successfully that even Gandhi and the Viceroy of India joined in them, the details of these plots the readers will find elsewhere in these pages.

It was on the pitch tnus quarrel for the Brothers were involved in the great farcical trial held at Karachi. In spite all of that, on release from jail Mohamed Ali was unavoidably crowned with the Presidentship of the All India Congress Committee in 1923. Gandhi had since removed from the Congress camp many of the influencial moderate leader who could block his way to success but the powerful big guns of Hindu *Mahasvbha* remained and even acquired domination over the Congress High Command, turning Gandhi a man perfact in the cower of time.

Shuddhi–Sangathan And Tanzeem–Tabligh Movements:

Mohamed Ali along with his Big Brothers and other comrades was sentenced to live behind the bars for two long years. During this period Swami Shardhanand was mysterously released from jail. He, joining hands with other Mahasabhites let loose their evil forces to achieve their ultimate object; the Hoindu–Muslim Dis–unity, in the best interests of the Britishers. Undoubtedly, there were many other Muslim leaders in the field but the Hindu leadership knew and was confident that if the Ali Brothers were removed from the scene no other person would be so courageous to stand against ttem; and secondly the *Mohasabha* was encouraged as the Government had filled her jail with the prominent workers and the field was quite clear for the *Mahasabhite* hounds to roam at will.

Mohamed Ali on return from jail found the country in a melting pot. Bearing a few, Muslims and Hindus, the population was fully devided into *Shuddhi-Sangthan* and *Tanzeem–Tabligh* camps run by the Hindus and the Muslims respectively, and all were at logger–heads. The friends of yesterday turned out as enemies of today. Gandhi began to play a double–faced game and practically considered his co–religionists on the right. However, Mohamed Ali with the clear mind of a Muslim, did not blame Gandhi though Shaukat Ali began to suspect his bonafides, and Mohamed Ali had to shield Gandhi and pacify his own elder Brother.

Gandhi's Courage Fails Vis-A-Vis Mahasabha:

Mohamed Ali and Gandhi had jointly created an atmosphere best suited to the continuous struggle for the freedom of the country as well as of the Muslim world. But, as has already been described, while the Ali Brothers were working with sincerity and clear mind without any mental reservation, Gandhi always worked under the guidance of his so called 'inner' and 'outer voices'. The *Mahsabha* was longing to establish *Hindu Raj*, which has never seen the light of the day for thousands of years; and, when it saw the Hindus organised under the leadership of Gandhi, at the expense of *Khilafat*, it began to bring pressure on Gandhi, who even if sincere in co-operating with the Muslims, showed no courage in opposing the powerful *Mahasabhites*. The '*Sabha*' leader, the big guns of Congress, were openly

working against the Hindu–Muslim unity. Gandhi remained lip–bound and Motilal Nehru, the 'nationalist', refused to utter a single word against the *'Sabha'* less they should spread thorns in his future election campaign. In spite of all this Mohamed Ali tried his best to drag the *Mahatama* to the right path even at the cost of his personal popularity. Many of the nationalist turn coats began to play hypocritical game and many were misled by ideas of their self–interest which seemed to demand detachment from Ali Brothers last the Hindu backing should be lost to them in the next elections. It is painful to record that some of the prominent Muslim leaders, particularly 'Ali vines' were also seen engaged in the anti–Ali Brothers' campaign in the best traditions of Mir Jaffar and Sadiq.

Under such critical circumstances instead of courgeously facing the opposition, or the unity–wrecking forces Gandhi thought it advisable to write an article dubling Muslims as 'Bullies' and the Hindus as 'cowards' Mohamed Ali had never been slow in rebuking the opposing leaders, may they be Hindus or Muslims, and always stood for the right cause. Seeing Gandhi's article and his unmistakable attitude that made him grieve for the Hindu victims of communal clashes but never cared to waste a single words ever the Muslim sufferers, almost always gratitously pestered with the advice to show tolerance and patience. Mohamed Ali at long last moved his mighty pen declaring that Gandhi had given a hint to *Sabha* to turn the Hindus into

'Bullies' and the Muslims into "cowards". Thus Gandhi himself joined hands with Hindus *Mahasabha* and tried, though in vain, to crush Ali Brothers. He patted many of the Muslims encouraging them to take side with him and men like Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Ghaudhri Khaliq-uz-Zaman, and several others began to play to his tunes, but, in fact, they were all 'Generals without an army'.

So, Gandhi either finding his own leadership in danger or intentionally offered the *Sabha* a chance to organize the Hindus on communal lines according to its own will, and himself decided to rest on his care and give up politics for the time being. He did not remain even a two–anna member of the Congress, though practically every decision of the Congress had his direction and blessings. Even at such a critical period the Ali Brothers remained in the field vainly trying for the Hindu–Muslim unity and opposing all those who stood in their way, Muslims and non–Muslims alike. The henchmen of the Congress and the Muslim rivals of the Ali Brothers and all those who differed with them on religious questions were exploited by the Gandhians and utilized to throw mud on the Brothers and to paint them in such colours as suited the exegency of themselves as well as of their masters, the conseious–keepers.

No Religious Affiliation With Gandhi:

Undoubtedly, Mohamed Ali for the time being had

accepted Gandhi as his leader in the then political atmospher having no concern whatsoever with his belief or religion; and whenever there arose any question of Islamic teachings he was not backward in declaring that he considered a *Fasiq* and *Fajir* Muslim (Sinner) better than Gandhi. A declaration to this effect once made the Hindu Press raise a great hue and cry but he never cared a bit for the same. Once during the hay days of Congress in 1923, when Mohammed Ali was delivering a speech at Aligarh someone wanted to put a question. The president of the meeting visulising some trouble did not seem to allow questions to be put; but, Mohamed Ali shouted, "allow him please, I am here to answer," and added,

> "My dear friend, I respect Gandhiji like a father, but remember there is another position also, and that is called *Iman-o-Itiqad* (belief and conviction) By belief and coviction I am a Muslim and consider Islam the best of all the religions. Islam's superiority is a party of my belief and thus I consider a worst sort of Muslim better than Gandhiji, do you understand?" On an other occasion he had said: "I ask Muslims not to forget that Mahatamaji is a Hindu and had proudly declared to have been a 'Sanyasi pure and simple'. He was born in a Hindu family. He was brought up in a Hindu atmospher. The Major portion of his life had been spent in company with Hindu friends

......He considers every relgion has good teachings .....He accepts our Holy Prophet as Messenger of God but contrary to our belief he did not consider any prophet innocent, neither he accepts our Holy Prophet as the last of the Propbets..... Remember our *Kalima* is the corner-stone of Islam, and as for as I know there is no such brief and complete *Kalima* in the *Hindu Dharma*. Our Holy Book is a small and we believe that every letter of it was revealed by Almighty Allah and is not the composition of our Holy Prophet....Such status is not granted to any Hindu book." (Hamdard, January 7, 1927)

On another occasion with Gandhi looked too perturbed over the assasination of Swami Shardhanand Mohamed Ali took it to be due to Mahatama's cult of non-violence, but with it, wondered how many tears were shed by the Mahatama, and the other notable Hindu leaders, on the killing of the Muslims? Once a great friend of Mohamed Ali waxed eloquent in too highly praising Gandhiji's piousness and spiritualism and expected an affirmative response from Mohamed Ali, but he struck a discordent note and said :

"I am neither convinced of Gandhiji's spiritulism nor of his کشف و کرامات (revelation and miracle) nor do I include him in the ranks of اولیا (Saints) His faith is different & my faith is different ...I have accepted him my political leader only and nothing else."

Gandhiji's Leadership:

It was a most wise step and an adventurous dash to win over a Hindu leader, of the standing of Gandhi, to strengthen the Hindu-Muslim unity, under which the Indians gave a courageous fight to the British regime. Mohamed Ali accepted him as a political leader and had no other alternative under the then existing circumstances. Gandhi has for himself attained or secured the roll of a Mahatama, the semi-god of Hindus. Wheather he was sincere at the time of joining hands with the Ali Brothers is a question too difficult to answer, though unhesitatingly and without fear of contradiction we can believe in the Brothers that they served their country and Islam with all sincerity and without any reservation of mind.

To our mind, Gandhi had two ideals or objects before his eyes, viz. to retain his leadership, which after returning from South Africa he had successfully exerted upon the Hindu elbowing the old hogs of the Congress; and, secondly to unite the Hindu community to dominate over the minorities with the backing, protection and patronage of the the british Government. He pressed the Government to achieve his above mentioned two objects and never took a step or put up a proposal for the achievement of Complete Independance; and even the ill-famed Nehru Report written under his spiritual guidance demanded Dominion Status. The resolution demanding complete independence move at the annuual

session of the Congress held at Lahore in 1929, under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru was only a fraud and manoever to mis—lead Muslims and induce them to agitate against those Muslims who were to participate in the forthcoming London Round Table Conference. The Muslim camp—followers of the Congress condemned Mohamed Ali for accepting the invitation to join the said conference, and even Gandhi and Jawaharlal were grieved to see him leaving for England, yet no Hindu leader or any Hindu press uttered a single word against the Sabha-com-Congress big guns like, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Moonje, etc. who contrary to Congress decision took active part in the delibrations of the Round Table conference. Mohamed Ali, in spite of having formally divorced the Congress was dubbed as communalist while those who actually defied the Congress resolution remained or were retained honourably in the Congress ranks as nationalists, what a contrast:

Many of the writers have praised Gandhi for his personal qualities and policies but after having seen, heard and read him, we are of the opinion, that he was a true Hindu in the real meaning of the word, body and soul, having no love for any other community inhabiting the soil of India —and if he had done something for the untouchables that was too under the political necessity to increase the Hindu population in the official records — At the same time he was not a politician of high calibre. Uudoubtedly, pen moved under his fingers and could write good English, using words bearing

double meaning, but all this was to give vent to the feelings stored in brains behind the curtain viz. those of Mahasabhites and the Hindu Moderates. And this was the very reason that he was never allowed by the visible or invisicle forces, to individually meet, talk, diecuss or settle political affairs with any party. It is not without its deep significance that whenever he was allowed liberty to negotiate he failed to prove himself equal to to the task; the most noteworthy examples being his interviews with Mohamed Ali, Quaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah, Nawab Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal and the Viceroy. Many may differ with the above cited convictions, yet to us he looks to be a respectable Hindu, true to his own community, and the Mahasabha and the Congress must be deemed to be nothing but two faces of a single coin and there may have been even more such faces symbolized by mythological Ravana who carried ten. As far as the Muslims were concerned they could never feel any difference in treatment matted out to them by the Hindu organisations, may they be called, the Congress, the Hindu *Mahasabha*, the Jan-Singh, the Rajiya Sabha, or by any other name.

The All World Muslim Conference 1926

EFFECTS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

THE First World War of 1914–18 turned out to be an unprecedented calamity for the Muslim world. The solidarity of the Ottoman Empire was shattered to pieces The British intrigues in Arabia succeeded in mis–leading the Arabs to stab in the back of their own Central authority, the *Khalifa*. The Turks were defeated and were on the verge of annihilation, when a handful of the Republicans in spite of the fact that the religious divines and even the Sultan of Turkey had denounced them as rebels and infidles, collected their scattered forces to save whatever portion of the lost Empire they could, and re–established Turkish authority to a great extent. They rightly extinguished a 'Kingdom' and replaced it with a Republic; and in utter desparation they also abolished the very institution of *Khilafat* itself, and offered it to others to shoulder the responsibility, if they so desired. On the other hand, the Arabs, who played a very sad part in defeating the Turkish armies at the instigations of the British, at the end of the war were also basely betrayed by the very British and her Allies.

Sharif Hussain, the Custodian of the Holy Places, a stooge of the enemies of Islam, who was dreaming to rule over Hedjaz went into wilderness and began to beg for help from the All India *Khilafat* Committee. To establish his authority he committed all sorts of atoci-ties on the inhabitants, even the foreigners who were present on that sacred soil were not spared. Meanwhile, Amir Abdul Aziz–ibn–Saud, a petty chieftain of Najd, who had a long standing rivalry with the family of Sharif Hussain, availing opportunity made attacks and successfully routed Sharif's forces to such an extent that Sharif himself fled to Jedda, and there he installed his son, Ali, as the constitutional head of the government.

Unfortunate Sectarian Controversy.

This inter–Arab fighting proved another shock for the Muslims and when Ibn–Saud came into power the question of doctrines crept in and the discussion over the Wahabi and non-Wahabi kept the Muslims in India absorbed on this question. This unfortunate sectarian controversy poisoned the body–politic on the Muslims and they were bitterly divided into two opposite camps; and forgetting all their national interests they were at logger–heads, just as during Crusades the Christian divines were involved on a religious strife and were denouncing each other at the time when the Turks had attacked Constantinople The *Khilafat* Committee under the able guidance of the Ali Brothers was trying its best to bring the situation to some sort of a compromise but

failed. The heat of the controversy could not be calmed and the question of saving the Turks of the Holy Places which had fallen in the hands of or under the influence of the non–Muslims was relegated to a subsidiary position. And when the leaders themselves had begun to take sides. Who was there to lead the nation on the right and the straight path ?

The Ali Brothers were the only brave leaders who could dare to stand and fight for principles. They had faced the situation at the time of the abolition of *Khilafat* and were not lacking courage at this juncture too. They boldly asked the Muslims to stand solidly for the Unity of Islam and not to indulge in controvercial matters of little value. But there could be no denying the fact that the situation created under the furore of religious sentiments was too serious to handled easily. Great heat was generated during the controversy and many of the leaders, who in their heart of hearts considered the said situation dangerous, did not dare to face the realities out of fear of losing their public position. Many of them deserted the *Khilafat* Committee and many remained in it to save their faces and waited for and opportunity to regain popularity by attacking the organisation from within. With the said Wahabi non–Wahabi controversy the opportunists brought several other questions to the forefront.

One party openly desired to forgive Sharif Hussain and establish him as the King of Hedjaz while some co-

workers of the same party claimed that the Hedjaz's administration should be entrusted to a descendent of Hazrat Ali or at least to a Quresh, and this claim of demand was vigorously supported by the majority of the *Sayyids* and the *Sajjadanashins*. The other party without giving consideration to any other aspect of the situation prevailing at the time, was the acceptance of Ibn Saud as the rightful Ruler of Hedjaz. The main question whether there was any religious backing behind the claim to entrust the administration to a descendent of Hazrat Ali or a Quresh, and whether Islam accepted heriditary rulership never calmly and soberly given a fair consideration. However, Mohamed Ali was of the opinion, rightly too, 'that Islam had come to dig graves for kingships', and that he never heard from any learned divine or a layman of God's appreciation for any human kingship, except those of the Prophets. He openly expressed that the idols which Islam had come to destroy were the idols of kingships *Barahmaniat* (i. e such a priestly class which considers itself high and above all other men) and in his considered opinion Kingship was against the teaching of Islam, and cited the examples of the most reverend and famous divines like Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam Malik' Imam Ahmed-bin-Hambal and similar other had always remained under the tortures of the ruling Kings.

Republican Rule Proposed For The Hedjaz.

Both the Arab warring parties, Sharif Hussain and

Ibn Saud, appealed to the All India *Khilafat* Committee for help and the Committee was not slow to hear them both and intimated to the parties the policy adopted by the *Khilafat* Committee in the following words, by telegram :

> "........ Indian Muslims held that in the present state of affairs a provisional government of leading Hedjaz representatives be formed according to the above mentioned principles (i. e. Hedjaz, the Center of Muslim world cannat be governed by kings and sultans but should be under a Democratic Republican Government absolutely free from non-Muslim control) and the question of the permanent form of government should be left to World Muslim Conference."

Sharif Hussain accepted the conditions laid down in the telegram, but being selfish, was not ready to give up the idea of establishing his family rule over the Sacred soil, while the Amir of Najd gave a solmn pledge to abide by the decision of the All-World Muslim Conference, for the establishment of which the *Khilafat* Committee had already been striving. The Ali Brothers, who did not believe in kingships or family rule must have been jubilant to hear that the Amir of Najd was ready to stand by the decision of the All World Muslim Conference, which could give no other view except that of a Republic in accordance with the Quranic Law.

Unfortunately, Indian Muslim leaders differed in this matter, and as already stated, many were blindly supporting the treacherous Sharif for mere qualification, if it can be called qualification that Sharif was connected with the family of Hazrat Ali, and Amir Saud was condemned for being connected with a sect called *Wahabis*. Both the parties never lagged behind in shouting from the house-tops that Islam does not recognise any sect, yet in practical dealing every one of them connected itself with one or the other sect. The Ali Brothers did not bear the narrow sectarian outlook and were working for the uplift and success of the Muslims as a *Millat* not in caste, creed or colour. To them the Unity of Islam was the only object in view.

Khilafat Committee, Deputations To Arabia.

The *Khilafat* Committee under the Presidentship of Shoukat Ali remained in constant touch with Sharif Hussain and Amir Saud, and decided to send Deputations to Arabia to study the situation and explain the policy of the Committee to both the parties. Sharif who had been bewildered by the desertion of those for whom he had stabbed the *Khalifa* wanted at any cost to have his hold on the Holy Places, so during discussion with the deputation he consented to abide by the decision of the proposed All World Muslim Conference provided the *Khilafat* Committee accepted him and his family as the rightful rulers, which request could never be acceded by the Committee. On the other hand Amir

Saud who was gaining power with his sword came forward with diplomacy and accepted proposal, and even telegraphically informed Shaukat Ali that he was not going to Mecca to capture it, but only to relieve the inhabitants from the tyrannies of Sharif and of the heavy taxes, and that there shall be no *Sultan* to rule over that country except the *Shariat-e-Islamia* to prevail. Innumerable cables were exchanged between the said Rulers and the *Khilafat* Committee on the subject.

Having received the consent of Amir Ibn Saud to hold an All World Muslim Conference *Khilafat* Committee considered it necessary to send another deputation to discuss the details of the proposed Conference and held high hopes to see after centuries once again an Islamic Republic in the Muslim world More than a year and a half were wasted in this exchange of messages; and, during this period Amir Saud had firmly established himself and with the strength at his command he also declared himself the King of Hedjaz, this was very much resented by the Indian Musilms. However, a Deputation consisting of Shaukat Ali, Mohamed Ali, Syed Suleman Nadvi and Shoaib Qureshi left in the first half of the year of 1926. On reaching Hedjaz the Deputation learnt that the Amir was ready to place any matter of religious concern before the All-World Muslim Conference but was not ready to put under discussion the question of any Kingship or republic. And when asked as to how he had accepted the Kingship after assuring the *Khilafat* Committee, he replied that as the

All World Muslim Conference could not assemble earlier he was pressed and compelled by the inhabitants to accept the Kingship and he could see no other way to save the country from ruination.

All World Muslim Conference 1926

The idea of holding an All World Muslim Conference, probably, for the first time was mooted out by a Russian Muslim Ghazir Nuski (غضیر نسکی) editor of a journal entitled, Tarjaman some twenty to twentyfive years ago (Vide Hamdard Daily 4-1-1927), but this time it was the All India *Khilafat* Committee's proposal, and in compliance with which an All World Muslim Conference was summoned to meet Mecca on June 5, 1926 though actually it started deliberations on the 7th, where the following countries were represented : India, Russia, Jawa, Palestine, Bairut, Syria, Egypt, Sudan, Asir, Najd, Hedjaz, later on Turkey, Afghanistan and Yaman also participated, only Iran abstained throughout. The Conference was divided into several sub-committees and they did valuable servic but the main question of the establishment of a Republic was never allowed to be discussed. It was a political blunder on the part of Amir Saud, who had hundred and one chances to have been elected the First President and most probably the Indian Khilafatists would have also voted for him, but unfortunately, the Amir and some mis-understandings, which were revealed later on by a most sincere worker of his time, Sheikh Abul Hazzam,

President of the Nile Valley *Khilafat* Committee (Egypt), who had tried his best to remove the mis-understanding or make some sort of compromise between the Amir and the Khilafatists. The Sheikh expressed that Amir Ibn Saud somehow was afraid of the strength and power of the *Khilafat* Committee and suspected that the pressure brought for the establishment of a Republic was to elect Shaukat Ali as the First President; a nation which had no foundation. The Conference ended with expectations to be called every year, but no invitation has ever been issued. The *Khilafat* Deputation met the Amir on July 7. 1926 to tale leave of him and returned to India partly successful but mainly facing failure in establishing a Republic.

Though the Conference was full of Muslim delegation from all over the world yet it was destined for Mohamed Ali to act play a true Muslim's role. He boldly presented the Muslim World's point of view in the light of Islamic teachings before the Amir that many of his admirers and co-workers became apprehensive less the Amir becoming annoyed furious might put him into trouble. But, Mohamed Ali knew no fear and having full confidence in his own-self did not care a bit of the forthcoming or expected happenings. In fact, he believed and was true to his following words:

> "......chose to serve none but God and surrendered himself wholly to his Maker, he could not accept for himself a position of inferiority to any other

Creature of God. This rightless slave of Allah became free for ever and the equel of Kings and Emperors in the greatest of all Republics, even supperior to them if they presumed to resist the Will of God, when he had identified his own will with God's" M. L. A. F. P–126

Mohamed Ali on the very face of the Amir warned him that the way on which he was running was not in the right direction laid down by the Holy Prophet and that Islam never accepted Kingship or hereditory rule in any form This credit goes to Amir that he heard him patiently, with forebearance and did not express any annooance rather outwardly appreciated Mohamed Ali's expressions and suggestions, but taking shelter behind the prevailing circumstances failed to act accordingly, and smilingly bade the Deputation cordially when it left the Sacred soil of Arabia.

When carrying of fire–arms without a valid licence was prohibited by Sultan Abdul Aziz-ibn-Saud under Royal Proclamation, Mohamed Ali opposed the move calling it meaningless and apprehended that it would turn the inhabitants into cowards, adding, "How we can become confident with the Proclamation which would turn the inhabitants of Hedjaz into cowards like ourselves. Even the Turks never tried to turn the nation of Khalid and Zarar to become cowards."

Kingship, Despotism And Hereditary Rule.

Mohamed Ali by conviction had been against Kingship, despotism and hereditary rule. He freely gave vent to his beelings and beliefs while speaking in presence of, and in the country ruled by a Despotic Ruler Sultan—Abdul Aziz bin Saud of Arabia, as well as in the Round Table Conference, London, against the British Hereditary Ruler King George V, and continuosly gave sermons on the subject through his Journals. Translation of a few sentences appearing in the Hamdard are reproduced below :

According to *Shariat-e-Islamia* Kingship is not just. (26. 2. 28)

The story of Beni Israel and of Kingship is the very examplary through which Almighty Allah taught Muslims that Kingship is not a blessing but is a curse. (16. 3. 28)

The two idols, Islam appeard to destroy were the idols of Kingship and *Barahmaniat* (priesthood). (26. 2. 28)

I never heard from any *Alim* (learned) or a commoner that Human's Kingship was acceptable to God. (18. 10. 26)

I consider Kingship against *Shariat-e-Islamia*. (16. 3. 28)

Islam has come to finish Kingships and dig-out grave for desposotics. (16. 10. 26)

It is an open secret that the Maharajah of Alwar had been on very cordials and friendly terms with Mohamed Ali; and in regard to the said relations has sacrificed his friendship with a brother ruler, Nawab of Rampur, who contrary to the wishes of the Maharajah had refused to allow Mohamed Ali to enter the State. The same Maharajah had sent him to Europe for medical treatment on his own expenses. But in spite of all such close relations and regards when Mohamed Ali was called to speak during the Coronation or Assumption of Rulership ceremony, the very Mohamed Ali so bravely retained his position by boldly saying :

> "......Maharajah is my dearest friend and I am a just appreciator of his heart and brain but Kingship is out of my submimssions. I am an enemy of Kingship and can never support it. If it becomes in my power I would instal him as "President of Indian Republic" or of the "United Indian Democracy", but not as Maharajah......"

And the Maharajah who knew Mohamed Ali perfectly well, appreciated the speech and gained a credit for himself.

Bravely Faced The Sectarians.

The Muslims in India were up in-arms against each other. The powerful *Sajjadanashins* (*Pirs*) and the *Sayyids* were generally backing Sharif while the *Ulemas* were divided into *Wahabi* and non-*Wahabi* camps, The Ali

Brothers with their wiser and wider vision had to face them all. In the biginning when they refused to stand by the treacherous Sharif as he was not willing to abide by the conditions set forth by the *Khilafat* Committee they were styled as *Whabis*, i. e. the supporters of the *Amir*. Later on, they opposed the *Amir* for his accepting Kingship, those who were their supporters turned to become enemies and those who had opposed the Brothers were praising them. Many of their co-worker failing to face the situation deserted them, some appeared in the apposite camps, even the spiritual leader (*Pir*) of the Brothers, Maulana Abdul Bari the famous divine of the House of Farangi Mahal, Lucknow, with all the forces at his command was standing against his deciples. How they became deciples (*Murids*) has a political back ground. The said House has been in prominence for their services to Islam since centuries and had naturally been supporting the Ali Brothers in the causeof Islam and the country. Probably during the year 1915, Maulana Abdul Bari asked the brothers to join his ranks which they could not refuse and joined him, and in spite of differences referred to above they always respected him. This was the House of farangi Mahal which bestowed upon the Brothers the religious title of *Maulana*.

It is customery in India and may be in other parts of the Muslim world that once a man places his hand into the hands of a *Sujjadanashin*, or *Pir* as they are generally called, he has to follow him belindly in all matters of one's life, with a very few negligible except-

ions. Such followers, who are known as *Murids*, never dare to differ with their *Pirs*, and to differ with them has been considered as an unpardonable sin. But the Brothers were not the *Murids* of this type. They had their own views, their own ideas and vast knowledge of the Islamic teachings. They possessed extensive and profound wisdom, vast studies and their political knowledge was far superior to any of their opponents. As enlightened sons of Islam they could not confine themselves in some water-tight teachings or circles ignorant the current trend and sitnation. Consequently when the question of Arabia came into the fore-front and the discussion of *Wahabi* and non-*Wahabi* was in the air, the *Ulema* and the *Sajjadanashins* were generally under the influence of their sectarian differences and thus fighting among themselves they overlooked the main question or need of the time-- the prosperity of Islam or the protection of the Sacred soil from the non-Muslims' influence. The Ali Brothers took a different and wider view. They had their eyes on the far reaching Islamic problems. Leaving the petty sectarian differences aside they were out to unite the Muslim world, preached the brotherhood of Islam and were bold enough to even oppose their spiritual leader *(Pir)* Maulana Abdul Bari never used any harsh word against the Brothers yet the other *Pirs* availing the opportunity condemned them with all the force at their command, and some political workers under the garb of divines supported the said condemnation, the object being to remove the Brothers from

their path. But, the Brothers fought bravely and did not budge an inch from their stand or ideals. They were under fire from all directions yet they stood like a rock and every head that knocked against them had to perish.

The opposition gradually became severe. Many of the *Sajjadanashins* and *Ulema,* who by supporting the British Government in the First World War had got an opportunity to take revenge as they had been condemned by the *Khilafat,* workers including the Ali Brothers, and like Satan quoting scriptures, they came out to overthrow the Brothers Those who had been chanting prayers and were granting *Taviz* (Talisman) to their *Murids* serving in the British forces and had blessed them to remain loyal to the British to fight even against their *Khalifa,* to whom in their Friday sermons they proclaimed as the successor to the Holy Prophet, and some of them even had gone to the extent of congratulating the Allies on the fall of Baghdad. Now, all these anti–*Khilafat* Committee groups with the help of pro–Government personalities and backed by the Government itself were united as one man to defeat the *Khilafat* Committee, to destroy that well organised Muslim institution. That unholy object could not be achieved unless they removed the Brothers from the position they were holding. But, the Brothers as already stated were not of the class of blind followers of any *Pir,* they cared but little of any opposition and were well versed to fight on all fronts. So when a hue

and cry was raised and the Brothers were asked to clear their position in connection with the so-called betrayal to their *Pir*, Mohamed Ali so boldly replied that for the sake of Islam and *Khilafat* they fought against the British, the Sharif–i–Mecca and were ever ready to fight the Turks and for the same cause stood against the Hindus. They added that for the sake of Islam and *Khilafat* they had linked themselves with the *Ulemas* and *Sufis* in India and had never betrayed the words they had given, but for the sake of the same Islam they could disown the link a thousand times to remain connected with their Creator, the Almighty Allah. Further that they did not accept the *Pir* to assimilate their–selves into him rather they were to unify with Allah, and that to settle the dispute they were still ready to abide by the old procedure which exists and runs.

> "Thank God", writes Mohamed Ali in Urdu, "I was a Muslim before taking *ba'at* on the hands of Maulana (Abdul Bari) I am still a Muslim and by the grace of Allah I will remain a Muslim for ever. When the *Kufr* (infidelity) could not enter into myself during my eight years stay at Aligarh and four years at Oxford, then how Allah will let me go estray to infidelity when for the sake of Islam I have turned my face from Aligarh and have kicked also......"

They offered prayers to have for themselves a martyr's end. His couplet became true to the text.

جیتے جی تو کچھ نہ دکھلایا مگر
مر کے ہاں جوہر تیرے جوہر کھلے

Fear Itself Is The Greatest Falsehood.

Ali Brothers' determination was to lead the masses not to be led by them. While many of our leaders had been working quite in the contrary way. Leaders with a view to retain their popularity and position never hesitate to become turn-coat and join the chorus sung by the masses in their own interests and never care to ponder over the question whether the chorus in the long run would be beneficial or destructive for the nation. The Brothers always took the realistic view and expressed what they sincerely and honestly believed to be beneficial for the Muslims. The conclusions may some time be proved wrong but their sincerity could not be questioned. Their fearless and outspoken attitude and expressions created innumberable difficulities for them but they never despairs. To them the greatest falsehood was Fear itself, and he believed :

> "Once the fear of God, or call it the love of God, for true knowledge of God must be comprehensive and must include both enters a heart it turns out every other fear, just as the love of God makes one independent of every other love. The knowledge that we are serving Him begets the comple-

test confidence in His ever—ready succour. 'Eli, Eli, lama Sabachthoni' is no cry for the possessor of Truth, unless it means that owing to our human frailty we ourselves lost for a time the hold we had taken on the strong handle that knows no breaking....." M. L. A. F. P-133 4

The Palestine Issue.

It would not be out of place to mention here that all along the *Khilafat* Movement the Ali Brothers had shown a major share of their care of interest with the Palestinian issue; for it is the Holy land that has the first of two *Qiblas* and the third of the Three Holy Mosques and which was blessed in the *Sura* of *Al-Isra* of the Holy Quran which says:

> "Glory to (God) who did take His Servant for a journey by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Farthest Mosque whose precincts we did bless — in order that we might show him some of our signs: for His is the One who heareth and seeth (all things)"

During the years, 1923, when a Palestinian delegation visited India to invite contribution for the construction of the *Al—Aqsa* a Mosque in Jerusalem it found into Ali Brothers the greatest supporters and sympathisers. Since that time the question remained the first charge on the Brothers and they never lacked in helping the Palestinian. And on his return to India from

England in 1928 Mohamed Ali declared in a Conference held at Delhi that he was one of the "Knights of the Burak", where upon thousands of Muslims stood up and took their oaths by God that they would defend the farthest Mosque and the Holy Burak. And those were the Ali Brothers who also issue invetations to hold a general Islamia Conference in London for the defence of the Palestinian issue and the Holy Burak.

Amanullah Khan Visits India

A King in 1927 Refugee in 1928

Note :- Amanullah Khan left Kabul on December 7, 1927, arrived at Chaman (Pakistan) on 10th. reached Karachi on 11th, and entered the Port of Bombay on 14th. Left for Europe per S. S. Rajputana on the 17th of the same Month. He returned via Iran and by way of Herat, Kandhar and Ghazni, reaching his capital Kabul on July 1 1928.

AMANULLAH KHAN'S ARRIVAL AND THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY.

HIS Majesty King Amanullah Khan along with his consort, Queen Surayya, of Afghanistan, during their contempolated tour of Europe arrived at Bonbay on December 14, 1927, where the Indian Government accorded them befitting royal reception and spent huge amounts lavishly from the national exchequer, on theeir entertainments and comforts. The Muslims in particular and the Indians in general were rightly expected to have good opportunities, chances and occasions to see, meet and greet that young energetic Ruler of a neighbouring State. But, the Indian Government who was well aware of the Indian sentiments and had learnt much from their struggle for the freedem of the conntry, could not like to afford any facility to the sons of the soil to have their cherished desires fulfilled. The authorities while drafting the Royel Visitor's programme tried their best to deprive the citizens to have a glance at the Royal couple and barred all chances for the King to mix with or hear and see the people except those who were to be presented to

him by the representatives of the British Government in India.

The general policy, in this matter, can easily be judged from the fact that the officials did not even thought it advisable to allow the people' representative semi–official body, the Bombay Municiple Corporation, to present an Address of Welcome to the most honourable guest in the city. A tug of war started between the Corporation and the Government but the later refused to agree till the Corporation accepted an unprecedented condition that a few of the Coporation's chosen members would present the Address, and that too at the Government House and not in the Ceremonial Hall of the said body. Similarly When the Anjuman Islamia, Bombay, Mainly composed of the business magnets and of those who were on the good books of the Government, applied to be granted permission to present an Address of Welcome to the King on behalf of the Muslims of Bombay it was flatly refused, but later on when the members exerted their influence and pressed the authorities only then they were allowed to have their desire fulfilled with the restruction that not more than a dozen members of the Anjuman should participate in that civic function, a mare political juggleryand mockery on the part of the Government.

Amanullah Khan And The Khilafat Committee.

The *Khilafat* Committee still had great influence

on the Muslim masses and at the same time there was no Hindu–Muslim discord on the question of according a reception to the Royal guest. Under the circumstances, the *Khilafat* Committee applied, rather demanded, permission to publicly present an address on behalf of the Indian Muslims. But, a Government which had rejected, requests made by the Corporation and the Anjuman Islamia, could not agree to allow a political organisation to receive Amanullah Khan and accord him a public reception. Further, the officials could not have yet forgotten the harsh tone of Sardar Niranjan Das, an Afghan delegate, who during the Third Afghan war and at the time of peace Conference held at Rawalpindi, on a question of Indian politics and retorted Sir Hamilton Grant, the Head of the British Delegation, saying : "Go and ask about your position from Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Mohamed Ali", and fortunately all the three were alive and present at Bombay. It was, in fact, a hard time for the Government as there was the great danger that in case of rejecting the *Khilafat* Committee's request, there might have been demonstrations and the occurance of some untowered incident and clashes with the Government forces could also have not been ruled out. At the same time the *Khilafatists* learnt that the King himself had expressed his desire to meet common citizens. Thus there remained no way to get out of the ditch for the officials except to allow the *Khilafatists* to have their way, hence the Royal Programe was changed accordingly.

After obtaining official concent it was decided that the King would be received after evening hours on the appointed day. Grand arrangements were made for a public gathering in Dongri area (Bombay). The inhabitants of all the streets and by-lanes leading to the place of assembly began decorating their houses and shops and the illumination of the whole route was under preparation, when all of a sudden the *Khilafat* Committee was informed of a change in the Royal programme, to the effect that the King would meet them in the early hours of the next day. In an industrial and business centre like Bombay, evening hours have always been considered most suitable for public meetings, receptions and for presenting Addresses of all sorts; hence the *Khilafat* Committee, with the consent of the Government had declared the time and place of the Reception. The news of the change in the programme disturbed the organisers as there was too little time to announce the decision of the Government, throughout the length and breadth of a big city like Bombay. However, the seasoned politicians of the *Khilafat* organisation could not so easily be duped. The *Khilafat* Volunteers, on foot and wheels, rushed to all four corners of the city to destroy the Government machinations; and, they were able to fill Dongri *maidan* with more than two lacks of the citizens in the morning to receive King Amanullah Khan publicly.

Amanullah Khan arrived and was warmly received

by the gathering. Just after stepping on the platform he learnt how the Government officials had played hide-and-seek with the *Khilafat* Committee to defeat the object of his reception, but had been miserably failed. The Ali Brothers were the first to receive and greet Amanullah Khan on his arrival and Shaukat Ali welcoming the King addressed him in Persian, "We the Indian Muslim, are helpless". The King used the Quranic verse "لا تقنطو من رحمته الله" meaning "don't lose hope in the help of God".

The First address on behalf of the *Khilafat* Committee was read by the President for the year, Abul Kalam Azad; the Second on behalf of the Citizens of Bombay by Sir Ibrahim Rahimatullah and the Third on behalf of the Jamia Millia Delhi by Hakim Mohamed Ajmal Khan. Amanullah Khan received the Addresses in a most dignified way, befitting a yong monarch, and replied in the spirit of a well-wisher, and sympathiser, expressing himself as one of the commoners present there. Gandhi being indisposed could not attend the function and was represented by his wife, Mrs Kasturabai Gandhi, and when Mohamed Ali introduced her to the King he received the lady with all reepect. Mohamed Ali had also inspired Muslim ladies of Bombay to present an Address to Queen Surayya, but the authorities were unbending as has already been described. However, with the backing of the Ali Brothers they fought for their rights and were, with great difficulty, allowed to present the Address to the Queen at the Government

House in a limited number, where an—other official Address was also to be presented.

Government Criticised.

Mohamed Ali was very much pained and grieved by the unwise policy adopted by the Government, whose selfishness always had dominated over wisdom. His pen could not remain unmoved. He wrote a lengthy article severly criticising the Government, exposing their underhand dealing and unveiling their traditions and conventions under which the rulers of the time were taking shelter. This historical article appeared in the Bombay Chronicle, a widely circulated English daily of Bombay, putting another heavy load on Government's back which had already been bent low by Mohamed Ali's lashings from the press and the platform.

Afghanistan's Revolution.

Unfortunately during the ending months of the year 1928, when Mohamed Ali was under fire by his rivals, sectarians and many others, inspired by the Congress, our neighbouring Afghanistan fell prey to a bloody revolution. This offered an opportunity to his opponents to exploit the situation and strike at him more vigoursously; the facts can briefly be described as under :

Amanullah Khan, King of Afghanistan, on return from his European tour tried to reform his country and

nation on modern lines but without giving least considration to the prevailing customs, the mode of life, under which thə Afghans were passing their days, ignoring the undeniable fact that, the orthodox population of that country were blindly following the *Ulema*, respecting their inter-pratations of the Holy Quran as God-sent version of the Holy Book. With it, it should also be kept in mind, that after the Third Afghan War the politicians had been divided into two different schools of thought : One led by General Mohammed Nadir Khan and the other by Sardar Mahmud Beg Tarzi. Amanullah Khan under the influence of his consort, Queen Surayya, favoured the later party and the leader of the first named was deported to work as an ambessador of Afghanistan in France. Thus the way was cleared for the party at home to have a free hand in the politics of the country. Amanullah Khan himself an inexprenced energetic youth, was eager to see his country standing shoulder to shoulder with other advanced nations of the world, and, under the guidance of his father-in-law, Sardar Mahmud Beg Tarzi and the Queen, who had spent major portions of their lives in the Continent, rushed to introduce the intended reforms in all haste. His advisers failing to judge the sentiments of their nation, did not care to ponder over the past history or give any thought to the reactions which were bound to appear in the form of an all round opposition. And, had the Reforms been introduced slowly and with wisdom it would have not been difficult to win the *Ulema's* co-

operation, in running the scheme successfully. This is not the proper place to discuss the inner politics of Afghanistan. It would suffice to say that the reaction appeared, as could be expected, in the form of a bloody revolution. Many actors appeared on the stage but the one, Habibullah, generally known as Bachcha Sacao, who it was alleged and rightly too, emerged on the top with the secret backing of the British Government. Amanullah Khan, failing to face the situation and abdicating in favour of his elder brother, Sardar Inayatullah Khan — who also abdicated after nominally ruling for leess than three days left for Kandhar along with his second wife, Surayya, (wherehis mother, Ulya Hazrat, had reached earlier), and he began preparations to recapture the lost Kingdom.

During the period, the news of General Nadir Khan's return from Europe was in the air, and soon after, on February 15, 1929, along with his two brothers, Sardar Hashim Khan and Shah Wali Khan, he arrived at Bombay enroute to Afghanistan. Zafar Ali Khan, a prominent leader of the Punjab and editor of the famous Daily "Zamindar", who was supporting Amanullah Khan, and in fact, whole India was supporting him, had started a cry-compaign chanting his verses to the theme "قندھار چلو قندھار چلو" (Go to Kandhar, go to Kandhar) and all men around him were reciting the same slogan. He wanted to press the coming Afghans to rush to the aid of Amanullah Khan and cared little

to give any consideration to the fact that in their hearts, Amanullah and Nadir were not on good terms. Those who knew the inner politics of Afghanistan could see with a naked eye that the ex–Minister of War and the man mainly responsible for winning freedom for their fatherland had been kicked out of the country, having been made an Ambessador and who after accepting the offer or complying with the King's command had left for Europe. Saortly afterwards he resigned the post and settled permanently in France. Hashim Khan and Shah Wali Khan joined him there leaving only the fourth Shah General Mahmud Khan to live and breath on the soil of the land of their fathers.

However, when Nadir left Bombay for Peshawar Mohamed Ali joined the party at Delhi Railway Station, travelled with them and alighted the train at Lahore where from Zafar Ali Khan accompanied them, till they reached Peshawar on February 19, 1929. Mohamed Ali had direct talks with the General, they freely exchanged their views ; and the strain of journey compelled Nadir to refrain further discussion, thus Zafar Ali Khan remained in contact only with his brothers. Mohamed Ali did not issue any statement in this conection, kept quiet, and left the matter entirely at the discretion of the General and his brothers,. Neither of the two asked them publicly to go to Kandhar or Kabul. Zafar Ali Khan on reaching Peshawar became more vigorous in his compaign and tried his level best to press them

under public opinion while Mohamed Ali remained cautious to commit himself one way or the other. Zafar Ali Khan continued his sentimental demand and once in presence of some tribal Maliks, when he put the same question whether they would go to Kandhar or not, Hashim Khan furiously replied that it was not difficult for one to deliver a speech in a public meeting but to command an army on the battlefield is a different job. And further added: "Amanullah Khan is at Kandhar, the most powerful, Ulya Hazrat is at Kandhar and that when they had failed to achieve any success so far how could they be able to achieve it there? We know our country, we know it is burning and we also know where water is required The grand politician of your country (Mohamed Ali) understands our point of view fully and we expect you to do the same". Zafar Ali Khan threw more vigour to his slogan compaign and launched a tirade against both, Nadir and Mohamed Ali. Nadir remained busy with his plans and Mohamed Ali paid little head to the said hue and c.y. Our philospher–poet, Dr. Mohammed Iqbal, was in full accord with Nadir and Mohamed Ali,. During the days Nadir was in Ali Khel, near the border of Kurram Agency (Pakistan), he remained in constant touch with Iqbal and exchanged regular communications, secretly of course. Abdul Majid Salik of *Inqilab* and the writer of these lines had the honour of working as an intermediary.

While Nadir was still at Ali Khel, Amanullah Khan marched against Bachcha Sacao but seeing no chance of achieving any success, retreated and was disguested to such an extent that he did not care to enter Kandhar on return. He unexpectedly headed towards Chaman (Pakistan), where from he left for Bombay via Karachi ; In 1927 he was received as a King, in 1929 he appeared as a Refugee staying at the Taj, the famous hotel of Bombay. Here Surayya gave birth to her first daughter named Hinda, and after staying there for a few weeks he sat out for Rome (Italy) with the intention of settling there permanently, similar to Nadir's intentions of staying in France. The major portion of his life in refuge was spent in Italy. Surayya breathed her last before his eyes and he himself left this world which in a Nursing Home in Switzerland. His body was flown to Afghanistan by the present rulers and was buried there, without any ostentateries ceremony.

In The North West Frontier Province (Sarzam-i-Be-Ain)

N. W. F. P.
A SEPARATE PROVINCE CARVED

MOHAMED Ali had all regards for the Pathans residing on the North Western Frontier of India, now Pakistan. He knew that since the day the British crossed the Indus the Pathans were ruled with an iron rod They were painted with the colours best suited to their rulers, so much so, that in the words of an English writer:

> "The character of the unfortunate Pathan has been torn to bits by the writers of half a century, who have lavishly allied to him the adjectives 'treacherous', blood—thirsty', and 'cruel', until it has become fashionable to regard the Pathan as the worst kind of savage ...."

Under these circumstances and probably finding some legal or constitutional difficulties in keeping the Pathans under unfattered clutches of the local authorities, Lord Curzon, carved a new province in 1901, called the North Western Frontier Province, with Peshawar as its headquarters. Colonels and majors began to rule and

the forces of tyranny were let lose on the inhabitants under the name of Special Regulations and Acts, as barbarious as could not have been justified even in the Dark ages, under the shelter of these Regulations and Acts, entitled the Frontier Crimes Regulations, Murderers Outrageous Act, etc. the local officials were empowered to banish a citizen from the province without assigning any reason or allowing him to defend himself through a legal practitioner. Heavy securities were demanded on trifling matters and failing to furnish the same, the poor accused were sent to prison upto three years with hard labour, and in other alleged crimes upto fourteen years. The will or wish of the authorities was the law of the time. They could order the destruction of the of dwelling houses as well as the agricultural fields on mere suspecion that those places could be used against the Government. Their unbounded powerful hands could order and hang a man on mere assumption that he might attack a British officer; and it would be surprising for those who are not acquianted with the Frontier affairs, that the accused could be hanged in any place selected by the condemning authority, and also to his satisfaction the body of the Muslim accused could be burnt even in lime or may be disposed of according to the wishes and desires of the sentence announcing authority. In short, such inhuman acts were committed by the so called civilized officials representing the British nation.

In spite all of these tortures and atrocities the brave Pathans never consented yield. He fought and fought hard to throw away the yoke of slavery from his neck. It is a history which no one dare deny. The hilly tracts called, Tribal or Independent Territory, and the administered area called, the Settled Districts, both worked for their salvation; of course, the first named with arms-in-hand and the last named constitutionally. They struggled hard for full one century, 1846–1947, and in the end successfully achieved their goal, Pakistan, and are now standing shoulder to shoulder with the independent nations of the world, duly cemented.

Sar-Zamin-i-Be-Acin (The Lawless Province).

Mohamed Ali remained in touch with the Pathans from the very start of his political life and became popular during the days the Arabs and the Turks were fighting on the sacred soil of Tripoly. His patriotic comrades such as, Syed Ali Abbas Bokhari, Qazi Mohamed Wali Khan, Hakeem Mohamed Amin, Maulvi Abdullah Jan, etc who all were later on labelled firebrands and fell prey to the British atrocities—remained busy in organising public opinion as Mohamed Ali was himself doing in other provinces of India. Mohamed Ali never spared the Frontier policy of the Government, and assailed it through his speeches, utterances and later on by contributing articles in his organs—**the Comrade** and the **Hamdard** However, Mohamed Ali was not allowed to step on the soil of the Frontier Pro-

vince by the rulers of the time. Mohamed Ali had styled this Province as **Sarzamin-i-be-Aein**, the Lawless Province. Which name became so popular that it was used generally as synonym for the Frontier Province.

First Visit to The Lawless Province.

To creat an apportunity for the Ali Brothers to enter the Frontier Province his farsighted comrades, referred to above, induced the All India Muslim Educational Conference to hold its session of 1914 at Peshawar. But, the local authorities could not consent to such a revolutionery proposal. The organisers of the Conference yielded to the Government pressure and gave up the idea. However, the session was held at Rawalpindi, near the Lawless Province. In view of the popular the Central Government agreed to permit Ali Brothers, along with Abul Kalam Azad, and Khwaja Kamal-ud-din, the Muslim Missionery, to pay a short visit to Peshawar. This was the first visit of Ali Brothers to that side of the land — the land of their ancestors. But the visit did not last longer than a week and they were soon instructed indirectly to leave the Province.

Bray And Nematullah Committees.

The Pathans had already started their vigorous campaign to secure equal rights and status for the Province with other parts of India. But, the 1st. World War, 1914—1918, cut short their political activities as all the

prominent workers were sent behind the bars. However when the War ended and the *Khilafat* Movement gupped the whole country, the *Khilafatists* of the Lawless Prouince along with their other national and international demands once again demanded equal status with other parts of India. The Movement spread with such a force that the Central Government saw no other way except to appoint an official body called, The Bray Committee, named after Sir Deyns Bray, a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, to enquire into the matter. Undoubtedly it was an eye-wash. The Committee formed the opinion in favour of the Pathans and described them as one of the finest nations of the world ; yet no practical step was considered necessary to be taken in this direction and the situation remained as ever.

Later on, under the pressure of the public opinion an-other Committee was appointed to enquir into the working of the Frontier Regulations and Acts, and was presided over by Mr. Justice Nematullah of the Allahabad High Court. The Committee issued a volumeous Report but with-out any practical results.

Demand Of Equal Status Debated In The Legislature.

The *Khilafat* Movement had infused the spirit of unity in the country. The Muslims and the Hindus were united. They jointly began to fight for the liberation of their fatherland and Mohamed Ali emerged as a

National Hero. The Pathans in view of the Hindu-Muslim unity tried to avail of this opportunity and renewed their demand to achieve 'equal status' with the rest of India. They could not, expect any opposition from the Hindus, specially the Congressites. They had been with them in thick and thin of the national movements. They had sacrificed their all in the struggle for the national cause, and in many cases wsre much more advanced in the fighting ranks in comparison to other province. When Mohamed Ali was approached by his trusted comrades, Mian J ffar Shah and the writer of these lines from the L w'e s Province, he realy consented to move into the matter and guided Syed Murtaza Bahadur, the President of the All India Khilafat Committee and a member of the Central Legislature, to move a resolution to the said effect in the Legislature. Syed Murtaza Bahadur acted accordingly and the following resolution appeared on the Agenda for February 16, 1926.

> "This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that he be please to extend to the North West Frontier Province the Provisions of the Government of India Act which relate to Legislative Councils and the appointment of Ministers, etc. with protection to the minorities."

Give Us our Due.

The Proposal according to the Agenda was deabated in the Legslative Assembly. This was the time when

the Hindu Mahasabha secretly distributed a book entitled, **Secret Societies In The Frontier,** among only the non-Muslims and the Europeans. This book neither carried the name of its author or publisher nor of printer and the printing press. The non-Congressite Hindu Members, on presentation of the proposal vehemently opposed it while the Swarajists, before their walk-out, kept mum, and the debate was postponed to March 18, 1926. Fortunately, during the first day's debate Mian Jaffar Shah, somehow, saw the book in the hands of a European, occupying a chair in the Visitors' Gallery just near our seats. At Jaffar Shah's request to have a look at the book the Furpean handed it over to him. Thus we got an opportunity to know the under-hand dealings of the Mahasabha. The subject matter of the book was: That the Khilafat Committee was working under instructions or inspiration from persons living beyond the Indian border, and that the *Mujahideens* and Haji Sahib of Tarangzai were involved in this so-called conspiracy. Having taken possession of the book we rushed to Peshawar to prepare a Rejoinder, before proposal could be debated on March 18, 1926.

Our Khanate Class was against the extention of Reforms to the North West Frontier Province and for us they were in no better position than the Mahasabhits. They feared to lose their undue feudally hold which they had been maintaining for centuries Only Nawab Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qayoom Khan, the leader of the

intelligentsia, as he was called, was backing us in this struggle, but not openly from the public platform. However, in spite of the short time at our disposal, we compiled a booklet entitled, "**Give Us Our Due**" A portion of it dealing with the provincial Budget was written by K. B. Saad-ud-din Khan,an advocate of great standing, and who latter on became the first Additional judicial Commissioner in the North West Frontier Province. The said pamphlet, "**Give Us Our Due**" was freely distributed among the Members of the Legislature and the Press on the morning of March 18, 1926,reached Delhi on the very morning of the 18th and it was in no way possible for us to enter the Assembly Chamber and place the booklet on the tables in the Hall. At the commencement of the proceedings every Member of the Legislative Assembly saw a Red Paper Cover booklet on his table, and due to the colour of its title, it was frequently referred as "The Red Pamphlet", in and out side the Chamber.

Swaraj Party's Betrayal.

This was the time when the Swaraj Congress Party, generally known as the *S*warajists, were holding the balancing power in the Legislature under the leadership of Motilal Nehru. The Swarajists who were struggling for the freedom of the cuontry could not be expected to oppose such a same proposal. But they wavering and Motilal Nehru to argue that such propesal should have been made after the country won its freedom. Lat-

er on under the pressure of the powerful Hindu Mahasabha and the coming general elections the *Swarajists* tried to defeat the very object of the Resolution. Mohamed Ali was in a deplorable state of health but tried his best to convince Motilal, his comrades and hirelings. But all his reasoning fell on deaf ears; and in a little time the *Swarajists* exposed themselves as bitter communalists who were no way better than the Mahasabhites. Mohamed Ali knew no defeats, he did not give up the battle and defying medical advance persued the question personally. Bodily supported by his two Pathan comrades, referred to above, Mohamed Ali took his way to the Assembly Hall at Dehli and was seen gracing the Press Gallery on March 18 and 19 of the year of 1926. This was the place when looking towards the Gallery a prominent Hindu Member cried :

"Maulana when you have come to that extent,

now please come down and lead us. To which his prompt retort was:

"From this height prefer to look down upon you.

It was difficult for Motilal Nehru to oppose the resolution openly on the floor of the House So he tried to play tricks and taking shelter under another point staged a walk-out, thus debarring the Swarajist Members from participation in the debate. Syed Martaza Bahadur, the mover of the resolution, was also a Swarajist,

but he had joined the party after fighting his elections on Independent Ticket. So seeing the tactics of Motilal resigned from the Party and remained in the Assembly Chamber to present his Resolution which Motilal wanted to be shelved. Another Muslim member Shaffi Daudi who had been elected on Swaraj Party observed the party principles desciplıne and walked out of the Assembly. The Resolution was debated on the 18th and the 19th of March 1926, (with Swarajist Party benches without having body and souls of their members empty). The motion was carried without any call for division as it could not be defeated. Though the motion was formally passed yet the Government remained adamen. And no change in her policy was made. Motilal Nehru's uncalled for and unwise policy created a rift between him and Mohamed Ali which remained unbridged till they breathed their last. Mohamed Ali referring to the unhappy situation said :

"I differed with Motilal Nehru on two counts, firstly he revolted against Gandhi when he was in jail and thus torn the Congress into two parts: and, secondly with the presumpsion to secure help from another disloyal Lala Lajpat Rai he tumbled over the rights of Muslim Swarajists by refusing to support the extention of reforms to the North West Frontier Province in the Central Legislative Assembly". (Translated from Urdu). Jaffery.

Second Visit To The Lawless Province.

Mohamed Ali entered the Lawless Province the second time during September 1927. It was the time when Rajpal had published a book, in which he made most maliceous allegations against the Prophet of Islam. The Muslim sentiments were roused to the highest pitch, They could never bear a single word against the Messenger of God. Such activities by Hindu communalists showed Hindu Muslim unity which had been achieved with so much effort. Soon it was in tallers. In this a critical atmosphere, when the news of Mohamed Ali's intending visit came to light, the Hindus and the Government were not slow to react. And an official ban on his entry into the Province was beig convasoed. The members of the Peshawar Khilafat Committee, who had complete hold on the masses, were consulted by the then Deputy Commissioner. And it was hinted that Mohamed Ali was to be prevented from entering the soil by the use of the Frontier Crimes Regulations. No compromise was insight and both the parties, the Government and the Khilafat, remained determind to have their own say, accepted. The Government had all forces of law or unlaw at its command while Khilafatists were banking on the all out support of the Muslim masses; and declared that if Govrnment took the foolish decision and stopped Mohamed Ali at the Indus bridge, the Khilafatists would organise a grand procession, carrying a life-size Painting of their leader and

even would be read to defy the ban imposed. The discussions between the authorities and the Khilafatists lingered on for nearly a week, neither side seemed willing to yield.

In due course, a few of the Sayeds under the garb of Anjuman-e-Sadat tried and successfully misled a prominent Nawab of Peshawer, Arbab Dost Mohamed Khan, and rushed to help the authorities. Now the Nawab became the biggest hurdle in the way. In fact, he had good following of his own and was also greatly respected by the citizens and Khilafatists themselves. However, the Khilafatists chalked out a scheme. They waited on the Nawab in the form of a *Jirga* (Deputation). According to the Pathan code-of honour they were received with all respect. The Khilafatists knew and were certain that the members of the Anjuman i-Sadat could not dare to face them in open, so they boldly pleaded their case and convinced the Nawab that Mohamed Ali was one of the best Muslims of the time. The Nawab was highly impressed by the Khilafatists case. He took the Khilafatists direct to the residence of the Deputy Commissioner. who seeing them together the Deputy Commissioner might have thought that they were won over by the Nawab and his way had become easy. But the facts proved to the contrary. The Nawab openly pleaded for the Khilafatists. The Deputy Commissioner became somewhat ennoyed and replied that he could not take the responsibility for

the expected communal clashes and the disturbances. The Nawab boldly offered his personal surity guarantee against any such happenings.

Khan Bahadur Saadullah Khan, the then Assistant Commissioner of Peshawar was officially participating the discussions. He abruptly supported the Nawab. I think it was the love and regard of Mohamed Ali which led him to come forward boldly and ignore his official position. Being responsible officer on the spot, I think, he should have not taken such a step. But he did; and when I asked him about the episode after some time, he replied that firstly he did not considered the conversation as 'official' and secondly he had heartfelt desire to see Mohammed Ali in the Frontier Province and for that he could even sacrifice his job and he cared not a bit for it, as he was one of the big landlords of tahsil Charsadda (Peshawar).

Thus, Mohammed Ali had a chance to enter the Province a second time. The city was gaily decorated, and more than a hundred arched and ceremonial gates were erected. Every profeession of the city tried to outdo the other and constructed gates with the goods it deal in, such as, carpets, woodworks, brass-wares, lungis and kullahs, cloths fruits, earthen-wares. One was fully decorated with silver and gold ornaments. The writer of these lines had the honour of leading the procession on a horse back, followed by a contingent of sowars, camel riders in Arabic uniform, cyclists, and other

Khilafat Voluneers with military-type uniforms on foot, and the guest was seated in a motor-car followed by an unending noise of cars. In short, a royal reception was accorded to Mohamed Ali. Inhabitants of Peshawer. gave many a reception to their leaders in the later years, could match the welcome accorded Mohamed Ali on that day.

During these days, excepting a few workers, all were shouting for a boycott of Hindus. Many non-Muslims had left the Province and the tribal territory for fear of being butchered there. And even Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the nation list of later days, had kicked out Hindu shopkeepers from his own village, and had started a Mandi (market) of his own with the co-operation of some of his friends and appeared as rash communalist In such a critical time when Mohamed Ali was addressing a mammoth public meeting in Namak Mandi, Peshawar City, he uttered, "Our Hindu brothers". This sentence arouse a commotion and some furious voices rang in the air, "Are they still your brothers?" Mohamed Ali is another name of courage. He could not be silenced by any sort of shouting or threat; he too furiously replied "Yes, I say brothers" and repeated the sentence many a times. And then dealing with the prevailing situation he in his forceful speech asked, "Why don't you cry buy from Muslims instead of the cry boycott the Hindus, and prepare yourself and try to stand on your own legs." On the following morning

some young hotheads came to apologise for what they had done the previous night. And they were warmly embraced by Mohamed Ali, no bitterness or memory of yesterdays heckling rankled Mohamed Ali. His love and magnanimity was immense.

Third Visit Annual Session Of Jamiat-Ul-Ulema-i-Hind.

The third time Mohamed Ali appeared on the soil of the Lawless Province during December 1927 to participate in the Annual Session of the All India Jamiat-ul-ulema-i-Hind held on 2nd to 5th December at Peshawar. It was presided over by the great scholar Syed Mohamed Anwar Shah of Deoband. Royal reception was accorded to Mohamed Ali and at his residence in the Conference there was posted a Guard of Khilafat Volunteers in their attractive uniforms, And the guard which in full military form charged duly after eight hours. The Simmon Commission was the main topic of the day. The Khilafat and the Congress were both opposed to it. While hundreds of other prominent leaders were present there. Mohamed Ali was practically dominating over the whole show. Hasrat Mohani, the most honest, sincere and extremist leader, was not in favour of totally boycotting the Commission. And this was the place where Mohamed Ali pointing towaads Hasrat read one of Hasrat's verses with a little alteration.

In Kohat Pass, The Independent Territory.

After the termination of the Conference he made a tour of the Inpendent Territory, the Kohat Pass, where the inhabitants for the first time in their history had erected welcome gates and arches for a national hero from the Indian side. The Afridis accorded a grand reception and thousands of bullets from the tribal rifles rang the air to express their jubiliation. The Hindu residents of the Pass were granted interviews, and they openly and heartily praised the Pathan behaviour and showed their coolness from the Hindus like Rajpal. They considered themselves as the sons of the Afridi soil. Begum Mohammed Ali accompanied her husband. Pathan woman and childern paid her great respect and considered her as superhuman. They asking for blessings and bendictions. After paying a flying visit to Kohat where he also addressed a public meeting, he returned to Peshawer the same day; and a few days later left the Province in the first week of January 1 [illegible], never to return again.

Fourth Visit To The Frontier.

It related in the previous pages that Mohamed Ali had visited the North West Frontier Province thrice in his life time, once in 1914 and twice after twenties. But, Khaliq-uz-zaman has referred to anothes visit in 1914 which to my mind and recollections appears imaginery. I being a local man, can claim to have been in

the know of the facts relating to Mohamed Ali as far as his comings and goings to the Frontier Province were concerned. I am proud to express that Mian Jaffar Shah and I were the most trusted Lieutinents of the Ali Brothers in connection with the Frontier and the said trust was responsible for our being chosen to accompany him to the Round Table Conference, London, 1940, and act as Mohamed Ali's secretaries. The Ali Brothers never kept secret from us any of their moves specially with regard to the Pathan Province. Thus the following passage in THE PATHWAY TO PAKISTAN Khaliq's autobiography looks absurd and baseless:

> "One night in December, the Ali Brothers entered my room in Sahib Bagh, Aligarh, and whispered to me that it was time that we started sounding our strength to defy the British should they ever intend to finish Turkey and the Khilafat, and suggested that we should find some way to explore the condition of the arms factories in the Tribal Area and what would be their maximum production at any given time. Next day I discussed the question with Shuaib, Rehman and Aziz and we decided to go to Toru which was the home of a common friend of ours.........We stayed at Toru for a week, but there we found that the real place to go to was not Toru but Shiva,...... at Shiva we were able to secure the services of the Manager of F. M. Khan to take us to the Tribal Area just for a visit. He had a relation of his incharge

of the police station near the Tribal Area border and we faced no difficulty in reaching the village where we found many mud-huts which were supposed to contain factories. They made some rifles according to the old method and they produced some for our inspection......There were a large number of Pathans who had come from different vill-ages to make purchases. We were asked by the Tribal people to make some speeches, which we did, inciting them to fight the British. We returned in the evening to Shiva and proceeded to Peshawar on our way to Aligarh, after taking our dinner with Sir Abdul Qayyum Khan, a great figure in frontier politics at the time.........

"Maulana Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali had gone to Jamrud and Ali Masjid where they fraternized with the ferocious-looking Pathans to no purpose as all through they were surrounded by the C. I. D..........p-33-31.

There are several points in the above passage to prove it to be a fairy-table. Is should be kept in view that during 1914 to most glittering stars, Syed Ail Abbas Bokhari and Qazi Mohamed Wali Khan were shining on the political horizon of Peshwar. The first named had been a student of Baliol College, England, and a member of the most famous *Sajjadahnahin* family related to Krim Shah Bokhari having their deciples throughout the province and even beyond, specially in Tirah (Tribal territory) and Afghaniston. The second named

had been a Professor in the world famous Staff College, Quetta, acted as Military Secretary to Her Highness the Begum of the Bhopal and was a tutor to Prince Obedullah Khan of that State. Both were Mohamed Ali's bosom frinds, they used to stay with him at Delhi, and we find so many references to them in the COMRADE and the HAMDARD. They, in fact, were in a position to ascertian the quantity of arms namufactured in the Tribal Area and even to supply the same if the Ali Brothers so desired. In face of the above facts one fails to understand: What led the Ali Brothers to rush to Aligarh and whisper into Khaliq's ears? Was Khaliq himself a Pathan or had he some speeial influence in that area? Specially when he admits that, "In college I have never been abled in politics" (P. T. P. page-16). The answer would only be "No". As he himself admifs to have had no knowlepge of the country otherwise he could not have rushed to Toru insteat of Shiva.

Secondly, he left Shiva, visited arms factories, delivered inciting speeches and returned in the evening passing by a police station where a relative of one of his friends was posted. From Shiva to a distance where from one could come back by the evening on horse-back, or on foot, there are two nearest villages in the Tribal Area viz Nogram and Tigral, and a third Chinglai wheih is a little further. There had been no police station enroute during the British rule 1849-1947. Hence the question of any relative's posting in it does not arise. Forther, not only in the said three villages, but in fact

in the whole of the Tribal Area under discussion, there had never been any arms factory since the days of Buddhist rule, as history indicates, nor is there any arms manufacturing factory even now the year of grace 1962. Thus strange it appears how the Pathans assembled there in large numbers to make purchases while there was no factory in existence nor any arms market? Khaliq must have heard that arms were manufactured in the Tribal Area and with it to make his Cock-and bull story more interesting might have considered it suitable to dish fantasy to his gullible reader, wisely mentioning neither the name of any village nor the success or failure of his visit. Probably he did not know, at least at the time of writing his autobiography, that there are noly two main arms-manufacturing centres in the Tribal Area, one in Kohat Pass and the other in Ilam Gudar (Tirah), Khyber Agency, and from there arms have been supplied to the adjoining independent territories including one under discussion.

Still further, the North West Frontier Province have been ruled by Majors and Colonels since 1901 and Mohamed Ali had himself given it the name of *Sarzamin-e-Be-Ain* (Lawless Proxince). The Frontier Government with great difficulties and heavy pressure by the pro-government Muslim politicians permitted Ali Brothers to enter Peshawar in 1914 after participating in the annual session of the All India Muslim Educational Conference but did not allow them to stay on the soil for more than a week. Under such a situation how

could the Government of the Lawless Province close her eyes and let the Ali Brothers cross the Frontier Province and pass through Jamrud in the Tribal area reaching as far as Ali Masjid of Khyber Agency's fame? Again, it should be noted that these were the days of 1914 when the fire of the First Great War, 1914-18, was burning and the Government had taken all necessary and even unnecessary precautions on the nearly 1400 mile-long North-Western border. How during such a critical period Khaliq could have dared to deliver inciting speeches against the Government in the *Tribal Area*, where traditionally lived a government informer behind 'every stone' of the place. Rather he was entertained to dinner by Sir Abdul Qayyum, then working as Political Agent in the Khyber Agency, and under whose Jurisdiction the Ali Brothers remained, fraternize with the ferocious-looking Pathans to no purpose as all through the were surrounded by the C.I.D." And, in spite of all that Chaudhri was after enjoying the dinner was returned to Aligarh without let or hindrance from a Province where no Indian national worker was allowed to step on the soil so much so, that even in years afterwards the aged mother of Ali Brothers was even not allowed to set foot on that land of the Pathanss. in the light of the above it can be presumed that the names of Ali Brothers are only brought in the autobiography to make the fairy-tale a little more interesting at their cost, Strange it would appear to those having some knowledge of the Tribal Area politics that neither the

political authorities controllong the Tribal Area not the official posted in the Administrated district took any notice of such an important visit of Chaudhri Khaliq-uz-zaman. Mohamed Ali, in fact, never paid any visit to the Frontier Province in the year 1914.

For Medical Treatment To Europe

MAHARAJAH ALWAR'S GENEROSITY.

MOHAMED ALI was born and brought up in a Native State, Rampur. His family, hearth and home, all were on the soil of the country ruled by a Native Ruler. Generally such Rulers worked under the thumb of the British Representatives posted in their States. They had to prove themselves loyal of the loyalists, most submissive and obedient. The British authorities in return decorated them with high sounding titles and allowed them to have a long rope to exploit the inhabitants of the soil and to enjoy as luxureous life as they could but without reflecting in any way on the relations with British Government. Under these circumstances they expected from their subjects to follow in their footsteps showing all submissions and loyalties to the Ruling family, without giving least consideration to the atrocities committed on them by the same aristrocrats. And, where as a British could, on occasions, tolerate an Indian's opposition the Native Rulers could not even think of that. Mohamed Ali being the resident of a State could not expect any better treatment than meted out to other inhabitants of the

soil. The Ruler of Rampur could not tolerate his national activities yet he ignored them as Mohamed Ali was in the service of another Native State, Baroada; and all responsibility for his activity lay on shoulders other than those of the Rampur Ruler.

However, when he entered the field of journalism and brought out the **Comrade**, advocating the cause of Muslim India and began to criticise the British Government, the Ruler became perturbed. Mohamed Ali's advocacy worked as an unbearable shock on the mind of the aristocrat. To satisfy his own whims and to please his British masters, he issued orders for Mohamed Ali's internment at Rampur just at a time when Mohamed Ali was on a flying visit to his fatherland and was confined to bed, and under medical advice was to leave for a hill station shortly. The Ruler was glad that the bird had on its own accord entered the cage. But the Big Brother was there to face the Ruler: and his forceful advocacy and the expected distrubances in the State induced His Highness Nawab Hamid Ali Khan, the ultra-loyal and humble worshipper of the British regime to withdraw his orders and allow Mohamed Ali to once again leave the soil and to which he was not allowed to enter again till the Nawab breathed his last. The Nawab imposed such inhuman restrictions which no self-respecting human could have been willing to accept. The rigorousness of the same can be judged from the fact that, whereas the criminals enjoy the benefit of

Parole, Mohamed Ali was even denied the same. Usually on hearing the sad news of any of his relative's demise, Mohomed Ali used to rush to the Rampur Railway station. out of Nawab's Jurisdiction, and waited for the coffin, to reach there after turning long ways to give him a chance to have a look at it.

Such a state of affairs existed even untill 1928 when His Highness, the Maharajah of Alwar, a literary figure of his time, met Mohamed Ali and this first meeting between the two served to ever-increasing friendship of them both. On hearing the woe-ful story that Mohamed Ali was not allowed to enter the land of his forefathers, the Maharajah depending on his friendly relations with the Ruler of Rampur, asked Mohamed Ali to accompany him to Rampur. The learned Maharajah was confident of prevailing upon the Nawab in this connection. But he miserably failed in his object as the Nawab turned down a friendly request even at the cost of friendship. It was a great blow for the Maharajah. He invited Mohamed Ali to spend a few days at Alwar. The Maharajah was a man of letters and had vast knowledge of Hindu mythology as well as of Urdu and Persian languages. He also used to compose poetry under the poetical name of ***Wahshi*** and was a brilliant orater of English language. The Maharajah offered him a printed compilation of his own with the inscription:

To my Maulana,
From his Wahshi.

Mohamed Ali could have not been slow in acknowledging the gift and searched his pockets to repay in a similar fashion. Finding a copy of the Scheme of Jamia Millia Islamia he signed

From a bogus Maulana
To the real Maharajah,

and handed it over to the Ruler-friend.

Mohamed Ali was suffering with diabetes since long. There was no scarecity of medical specialists to look after him in the country, and in fact, they had all along been serving him at his own or at the cost of his friends. The medical adviser of His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal had always been at hand to tender his advice and treat him when-ever Mohamned Ali desired. But, the man,who had to work day and night, without giving any consideration to his health, could not be expected to enjoy beauty-sleep or consented to lie down in his bed. Further who could remain on diet for the whole life. The result was painful and the desease began to increase by degrees. With diabetic sugar there appeared albumen and shortly afterwards acitone became visible. And this all created neuritis. In short, the state of his health turned critical and dangerous. The Maharajah proposed to send him to the Continent for medi-

cal treatment at his own expens, but Mohamed Ali hesitaited to accept such a generous offer. However, he decided to consult his Big Brother and later on agreed to enjoy the hospitality.

Delhi To Aden.

Mohamed Ali left Delhi on May 25, 1928. He spent a day at Ajmer, where he met his old oxford college mate, Abdul Wahid Khan. From there he took his way to Abu (Alwar) to meet the Maharajah on 28th May He reached Bombay via Ahmadabad just in time to join *Eid-ul-Azha* prayers in a mosque near Khilafat House, Love Lane, Bombay along with Shaukat Ali, Mohamed Irfan, one of his dearest friends, and several others. Here a wealthy Muslim had arrannged to instal a loud-speaker in the mosque for the convenience of the congregation. But our learned *Ulema* vehemently opposed its use and declared it an un-Islamic act where upon he had to withdraw his scheme, Mohamed Ali on hearing the news severely criticised those educated illeliterate *Ulema.* He also regretted that the mover proved so weak as to abandon the correct arrangement, in the face of ignorance and threats of the narrow – minded Ulema.

He sailed per SS Macdonia for the Continent on June 2 with a heavy heart. And referring to his previous trip to Europe as the Head of Khilafat Delegation in 1920, wrote as under:—

"After the trip (in 1920) I had pledged not to adore on the steps of the rulers, and even if it would become necessary to have a visit that would be only to sign an Agreement between the British Government and India. Alas, the said Agreement still appears remote; but inspite of that I have not broken my pledge. On phoning to Sir Denys Bray, the Foreign Secretary, at Simla, in connection with my pass-port, I had clearly stated in answer to his enquiry that neither I have confidence in any of the political parties of England nor in any regime on the soil of Europe; therefore the question of my visit to Coninent for any political cause does not arise. And I have today have cleared all mis-understandings of Mr. Watts, the political Secretary, while meeting him on board the ship, and have informed him that I have been sent only to recover my health............What a strange and surprising position it is that a hunger-striken person is leaving a hunger-striken country at the cost of heavy expenses to a well fed covntry only to have his treatment there through hunger and fasting." (Translated from Urdu)

The "Hunger and fasting" is a reference to a treatment of diabetes which was experimented in Europe during those days.

Thus, Mohamed Ali, after many years availed a chance to enjoy beauty-sleep for a few nights during his

voyage. And this too was due to the fact that there were but a few passengers known to him. However, he did not waste his time on the ship idling in a deck-chair or lying in bed. He soon diverted the attention of some of his fellow travellers, began to chat with them conveying his mission of freedom and Islam. He also tried to pick up French in his spare time. At the same time he did not forget a promise which he had made. And to it he wrote a long review of the poetical work of the late Mohamed Daud, an ex-student of Aligarh College and the brother of Mahmud Ahmed Abbasi, a welknown Muslim historian of Pakistan.

Landing at Aden he rushed to have a glimpse of this important place and meet a friend, Sir Cawsji Dinshaw. But he did notfind him and his son received him with all regards and affection. On re-boarding the ship Mohamed Ali wrote:

"Aden is in bondage to keep India's subjugation intact. The chain of slavery, in fact, starts from Gibraltar, and this place is just the lastring of the chain.

In Egypt.

From Aden the ship headed for Suez, where many prominent personalities, who either had been informed directly or had heard the news of his arrival, were present at the port to receive him. Among them were Mohamed Ali's great friends like, Dr. Ahmed Fawad,

the leader of *Hiz-bul-Watan*, and Dr. Abdul Hamid Saeed, who took him to Cairo. Mohamed Ali had a very busy time as several news reporters rushed to record his views and specially regarding a news item published in the *Al-Siyasa* and supplied by one Mohamed Khan of Karachi saying, that Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali were hetching conspiracies to kill Sultan Abdul Aziz bin Saud of Arabia. Mohamed Ali refuted the allegation in a lengthy statement and with it shortly afterwards the Government of Saudi Arabia also declared from Damascus that the rumour or the news was unfounded. He paid a visit to the office of *Al Shoaib* daily and met the editors of the *Al-Fatah* and *Al-Akhbar*. Dr Abdul Hamid Saeed invited many of his friends including politicians, government officials, religious divines, poes, businessmen and journalists to a lunch in honour of Mohamed Ali. He got an opportunity to have informal friendly conversation with Egyptian leaders. He replit-ed questions put to him on the world affairs. And it was here that Ali replying to an enquiry regarding Islamic teachings he so boldly said:

> "We are committing same blunder which has ruined many of the non-muslims. We after cutting the soul from the body are ourselves inviting ruina tion. by splitting into two, the religion and the earthly life, we have handed overselves over to usurpers. Some have become masters of our destiny and are called Kings and Rulers, some adop-

ting religious garb are styled as Brahmans, Priests, Popes, *Sufis*, *Maulvis*, or *Mullas*; while Islam, in fact, neither recognises Kingship nor Brahmanism............Many of our *Ulema* with a motive to impose their own leadership and the prestige of the Ruler have thrown us far away from real Islam. The idols of Empire and Papacy which are bigger than the Arabian idols of Hubal, Lat and Uzza, are worshipped in these days throgh-out the world, including the world of Islam; though our first and foremost duty is to destroy these idols......"

In Cairo, he enjoyed the hospitality of Sheikh Shawesh, the most famous religio-political leader of Eygpt and enjoyed also a few moments with his children. Here in this house, Mohamed Ali found many pictures, paintings, and photographs, even some half-nude, hung on the walls. And as his own drawing room at Delhi treasured similar artistic works against whom our *Ulema* usually raised objections, he resolved to invite those Indian *Ulema* to go over to Eygpt and discuss the matter with Sheikh Shawesh, the Muslim divine of international fame. Referring to the dress of Eygptian women, Mohamed Ali said in a letter that they had beggan to use western style skirts, and those who were observing *Purdah* used such a fine and thin viel which added to their attraction and beauty. Mohamed Ali himself was not in favour of totally wrapping the fa-

ces. But showing his inability to give a final finding, he said that, our learned and the Ulema should sit together and settle once for all the question of Islamic *Purdah* in the light of the Holy Quran and the *Hadith*; and he clearly added that in case they failed to do so and pressed the woman-folk to remain confined to the four walls of their houses, the result, he was afraid, would be not only be discarding of *Pardah* bnt modesty and dececy-

At Cairo he visited Jamia Azher, the spinx and some other historicar places including the so clled Mauso-leum of Hazrat Hussain son of Hazrat Ali, built by the Fatimides for political reasons. On leaving Cairo he was greeted by a large gathering including the famous Sheikh Zankolani of Jamia Azhar, and many others who only knew that he was Mohamedali-Shaukatali the well known Indian pariots.

To Marseilla.

He boarded the ship at Port Saeed, and while he was talking to some of his fellow travellers an 'ape sha-ped' figure without any introduction crept in saying:

"Have you seen Cairo? how you find the Prymids?"

"I did not go to see the Prymids," replied Moha-med Ali,

"I have already seen them before".

> "Did you go there for some business affairs?" he enquired humourously. "No," retorted Mohamed Ali, " I went to see some of my friends." "How you find the political atmosphere of Egypt," and added, "we have always our watch on your movements and we knew all that you do."
>
> "I do not know the political situation of Eygpt" Mohamed Ali sarcastingly replied, "but my work is to create political troubles for you on the soil of India, and thank God, there are mny patriots in this country who are creating difficulties for you here."

Though the intruder was shaken, he contiued: "You manage only your country while we look after all the countries."

> "Yes, you belong to a nation" Mohamed Ali was not slow in respond, "of whom Lord Launsbury had once said that it wanted to have the moon conquered for her imperialism lest it might be captured by the inhabitants of Mars " (Convesration translated from Urdu). This silenced the intruder till the ship reached Marseilla.

Mohamed Ali became acquainted with many of his fellow travellers and had leisure to talk and exchange views with them cordially. One day, a British Military Officer, a gentleman in manners, asked Mohamed

Ali, why he was carrying a hand-bag with inscription on it the Crescent, a star and the word *Khilafat*, when the very institution had already been abolished by the Turks. Mohamed Ali felt that the man wanted to know his views or ideas and was not slow in reply. Reciting a verse from the Holy Quran translated it and offered lengthyl comment on the same in his flawless English saying."

> "......it is the duty of every Muslim to preach Islam through-out the world. The institution of *Khilafat* is only to safeguard and support Islamic beliefs and preachings.'

All those present were pleasantly surprised to hear him and they were greatly impressed by his exposition, command of the English and his language and burning sincerity and one of the officers frankly said:

> "We thought yu, both the Brothers, are only blood-thirsty for the English blood and wanted to see riots and killings on the soil of India; but the philosophy you have disclosed is convincingly based on the bedrock that there is no compulsion in religion and that one must work create unity and love among human beings." He asked "Are the clothes you are wearing religious?,,

"What the religion has to do with clothes and fashions," replied Mohamed Ali, "Islam is not an old curiosity shop of rituals. It teaches us to use the worldly things in their proper and dignified forms. There are some principles laid down in this connection," and smilingly added, "Undoubtedly my religion demand that at least we should cover ourselves from navel to knees......and at the same time it does not allow woman-fold use bathing costumes similar to those we see in the swimming pool on our ship-open nude legs"

(Questions translated from Urdu)

At Dover.

Mohamed Ali reached Dover on the Ist of June where his luggage was thoroughly searched under the pretex of finding some dutiable articles. Along with it unnecessary questions were also asked by the Customs authorities, which in fact, had nothing to do with the Customs procedure, such as:

"Are you joining the Parliamentary Conference? You have taken such a long journey, where will you stay? Mohamed Ali did not care to reply but when he was repeatedly asked whether he was joining the Conference, he said, "No, because I detest your Parliament, you have seen my pass-port granted by your government, is that not sufficient for Customs purposes?"

"Where do you live? In Culcutta?"

"The Intelligent Departmentt here ought to know atleast," said Mohamed Ali, "where the Ali Brothers reside in India."

"We Know," the Custom, officer said, "you are a prominent national worker from India."

"You are wasting my time" Mohamed Ali protested, " now please help me to catch a train in time."

To cutting short the introgation, the officer replied, "You will catch the train-with out any difficulty" and the episode ended.

In London

From Dover he took his way to London where just on reaching, he was invited by an old friend Saklat wala, M. P. to see the proceeding in the Parliament and the Speaker issued a *Special* Strangers' Gallery ticket in his name. Later on he consulted Colonal Dr. Austin, of the Royal Army Medical Corps, who treated him under a system called Naturo Therapy. He was to live strictly on diet without a slice of bread-which largely consisted of fruits. In place of sugar he could use honey, and was not allowed to eat meat and fruit at a time and not to take water during meals. Saccharin was also forbiden. Mohamed Ali kept himself, as far as possible, aloof from politics and did not care to meet

any of the officials or the Ministers of the Government. He indulged his old love for sports. He paid a visit to Wimbledon to see world famed Lawn Tennis Players, such as Tilden, Lacoste, Cochet, Borotra, Hunter, Patterson, Hawkes, Coen, Helon Wills, Dealvarez, Cily aussen, Betty Northal, etc. He also went to see a cricket match played between Oxford and Cambridge at Lords, where some one had hung on its gate a big picture of Mohamed Ali before he arrived there. In the New Gallary Cinema he enjoyed the acting of Barry Moore in Tempest. Also for the first time, he had an opportunity to see Charlie Chaplain in a movie picture.

The Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali, a Privy Councellor and welknown historian breathed his last during the days Mohamed Ali was staying at London. On hearing the sad news he rushed to Woking to meet Lady Ali and his son Waris Ameer Ali and offer *Fateha.* Here he had an interesting incident. Accompanied by some young admirers he entered a Cottage Restaurant in Walking to have some-thing to eat. An old lady appeared and consented to provide them with tea alone. But, when Mohamed Ali said that the boys were hungry as they had not their lunch, she refused even to serve the promised tea. Mohamed Ali was surprised but with the humble mind that he had, he soon realised that his long flowing robe had frightened the lady who feared that *Sheikh* might not steal away the forcks and knives in his flowing garments. In fact, she had seen a

film-show *The Shiekh's Son*, and recollected that the actor in it had stolen the pieces referred to above, and th t scence had fostered the suspicions of the lady.

Mohamed Ali had given a short discription of the grave-yard in Brook Wood, situated between Woking and Aldershot and here Syed Ameer Ali was buried. This is a vast Grave-yard called Necropolis. There is a beautiful garden, with footpaths and a wall surrounding the whole area. And a railway runs into it for the conveyance of the dead or those who carry them. A portion is set apart for the Muslims, an-other for Parsees and strange enough yet another for the Hindus who generally burn their dead bodies. Syed Ameer Ali had in his life time, purchased a piece of land for himself and his family in the area reserved for the Christians, and so he is buried there at some distance from the tombs of other Muslims.

To Germany

Mohamed Ali in compliance to the wishes tendered by his friend Dr. Ahmad Fawad of Egypt, left for Germany via Paris to consult one Dr. F. Nadian, a spacialist. All arrangements for his stay in Paris or Germany were made by the Chattupadia, Mrs. Sarojni Naidu's brother. Mohamed Ali improved his health to a great extent. The albumin which on the very start of his treatment was 79% had gone down to 3%, sugar nil and weight increased by 15 ounces. After spending a day

or two in Paris he reached Frankfurt and was examined by Dr. Nadian, who just after examination saw his swollen foot, and thinking it a serious case did not allow Mohamed Ali to leave his clinic; and disclosed that it was gangarin in its early stage and added that he would try to save his foot though he had cut and thrown away many in such cases. In short, he was confined to bed, his foot fixed in a tight press with cotton-wool pillows around it, in such a manner that he could not move the foot if even he tried or desired to do so. Diet was changed. Blood and urine examined. The next day, doctor looked somewhat contented to have tackled the illness in time. Mohamed Ali was fully satisfied with the treatment but was woried of the heavy expenses he had to incur- in that foreign land. Re-collecting the Englishman's saying that "Living is cheaper in India" Mohamed Ali said, "Living is dear in Europe and on the whole and dying is much cheaper." He remained under treatment there till the end of the first week of September 1928.

As his health improved the doctor allowed Mohamed Ali to pay a visit to Hamburg and there he got an opportunity to meet Prince Albert,son of Kaiser William of Germany, and his family. Later on, when he had the honour of a lunch with the Prince, Mohamed Ali was surprised on three counts: Firstly, a waiter brought a stool and placed it under his ailing foot, secondly while different sorts of dishes were served on the table, Moha-

med Ali was offered the same diet which had been prescribed by his doctor, and thirdly he saw a volume of **The Comrade** nicely bound lying with other collections of the Prince. Later on, he found that before inviting him to luch the Prince had already consulted the doctor about the dishes to be served.

To London Again

From Germany he returned to France to see his old friend Rauf Pasha, the famous commander of the warship, Hamidia, and one of the most influencial member of Enwar Pasha's Party. Thereafter he took his way to London, Giving a brief description of those days' London, Mohamed Ali worte, that the porters care but little for the travellers and could not be contented with less than two shillings for which a France Labourer in his country would well be pleased with five cents. The taxi drivers seemed haughty and naughty, and the taxis themselves heavy and unattractive and the fares charged three to four times higher than the nice taxis of France. And despite the high charges the driver did not accept a tip as a, a gesture but demanded it as a right. He further adds that during his college days in England it was prohibited for women to swim along with men, the women used garments which covered their whole bodies; on the side of shoulders right down to wrist round the legs down to ankles. But in 1928 the atmosphere totally changed. Their news-magazines had star-

ted publishing half-nude pictures of the fair-sex and were in great demand and appreciated by the readers. Mohamed Ali recollecting the saying of an American lady that the national dress of India was a piece of cloth wrapped round the head and a handkerchief (to hide the private parts). He said that he saw, a piece of cloth tied round the head and a pocket handkerchief tied between the legs in England".

Returns To India

Mohamed Ali after recouping his health to some extent took his way to India, breaking his journey at Jerusalem as a guest of His Eminence Syed Amin Al-Huseini, the Grand Mufti of Palestine, who so affectionatly writes:

> "We had the opportunity of his visit to us in Jerusalem In 1928 two years before his death. I was lucky enought to receive him in my own house towering over the Holy *Harm*. A group of Jerusalem people, comprsing the *Ulema*, the notables and thinkers, gathered together to listen to his social and philosophical speech which demonstrated his vast knowledge of philosopy and Islamic History and Jurisprudance"
> (MNK-4.1.65)

On reaching India he could take no rest but once again circumstances dragged him to the field of politics.

This was the time when the ill-famed Nehru Report was under fire by the Muslims. And though Shauket Ali had single-handedly opposed the mighty Congress yet he required a Mohamed Ali to assist him in the battle-field. Mohamed Ali appeared on the scene again. He needed rest. But he could not leave the people at the critical time. And his untimely exertion exhausted him. However, after successfully defeating the Congress and compelling her to drown the Report into the river Ravi he was once again confined under medical treatment.

The Nehru Report and After

CONGRESS' ALIGNMENT WITH HINDU MAHASABHA

THE Indian National Congress had all along been under the influence and pressure of the Hindu Mahasaba. The big-guns of Sabha had always been holding high positions in the Congress camp and were exploiting the Hindu masses with their heart-catching slogans of Hindu Raj or Ram Rajiya. The Mahatama in spite of becoming an accredited leader of the Congress could not, and did not, dare to stand against the Sabha and its leaders like M. M. Malaviya, Dr. Moonje, Aney, etc. In the heart of their hearts Hindus felt that India belonged to them and it was their declared policy that all the non-Hindus should either join the Hindu fold or leave the soil of Maha. bharata, which apparently no non-Hindu could tolerate or accept. Many a time Gandhi was apprised by his nationalist friends like the Ali Brothers of the moves sponsored by Malaviya and his co-workers which were dangerous and would prove injurious and poisonous to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity ultimately harming the Freedom Movement, but the Mahatama rebuked them through his paper, THE YOUNG INDIA :

"I have been warned against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He is suspected of secret motives. It is said that he is no friend of the Mussalmans...... *I regard him one of the best* among Hindus, who, though orthodox, holds most liberal views. He is no enemy of the *Mussalmans*......Many *Mussalmans* believe that Malaviyaji is the sworn enemy of Islam......"

and thus supporting him he added.

"Even if the whole Muslim world were to turn against me I would declare that Malaviyaji is my friend and elder brother......" (F.M. 24-12-1961)

Aga Khan's Impressions Of Gandhi

In fact, while the Muslims had sincerely joined the Freedom Movement, the Hindus under the leadership of Gandhi availed of the opportunity to secretly organise their community and in the long run to oust or crush the Muslims in the politics of the country. Gandhi always expressed himself in words bearing double meanings to suit the situation and undoubtedly had played upon words and phrases, as has been described by His Highness The Aga Khan III in the following words.

"I opened it by saying to Mahatamaji that, where he now to show himself a real father to India's *Muslims*, they would respond by helping

him, to the utmost of their ability, in his struggle for India's independence. Mahatamaji turned to face me. "I cannot, in truth say" he observed, "that I have any feelings of paternal love for *Muslims*, but if you put the matter on grounds of political necessity, I am ready to discuss it in a co-operative spirit. I cannot indulge in any form of sentiment". This was a cold douche at the outset; and the chilly effect of it pervaded the rest of our conversation. I felt that, whereas I had given prompt and ready evidence of a genuine emotional attachment and kinship, there had been no similar response from the Mahatamaji.

"Years laterin 1940 I reminded him of this. He said that he completely recollected the episode. "I am very sorry, 'he said then,' that you misunderstood that answer of mine. I did not mean that I was aware of no emotional attachment, no feelings for the welfare of Muslims; I only meant that I was conscious of full blood **brotherhood**, yes, but not of the superiority that **fatherhood** would imply.'

"And I, on my side, had only meant in that word 'father' to show respect for the frailty of his age not of course, frailty in health or mental capacity and not to hint at any superiority." M.A.K. p-2278.

Lucknow Hindu-Muslim Pact of 1916.

In short, the ever increasing differences crept into the body politic of India, the greatest hurdle being the Muslim demand to retain their separate entity at any cost and the refusal on the part of the Hindus to accept the same. Syed Ahmad Khan had given his precious life for the said cause and Mohamed Ali was vigorously fighting towards the same direction. But the Hindus, they may be called nationalists, orthodox or communalists, were all united in rejecting the Muslim demand and were trying their best to force One Nation theory upon the Muslims, claiming for themselves the sole proprietorship of patriotism. Mohamed Ali could not listen this all hue and cry and rebuked thus ;

> "It is cant and hypocracy on the part of a very large section of Hindus to talk of nationalism and to rebuke those who give expression to the apprehensions they feel as regards the rights of minority communities of backward class and who would devise safeguards for them through com munal and class representation." Speeches p-317

Later on, when the Hindus failed to move rock-like stalwarts advocating separate representation for the minorities they once again changed their tactics and began to demand that, if the cemmunal representation could not be avoided and the Muslims did not

like to give up the stand they had taken an agreement could be made on the basis of the famous Lucknow Pact of 1916. It may be recollected that during the First World War Indians had to arrive at some sort of political understanding among themselves. The Hindus and the Muslims entered into an agreement at Lucknow in the year 1916. This Pact deprived the Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab of their majorities resulting in serious handicaps. The Hindus were trying to retain similar position in the remaining provinces, leaving Muslims nowhere in majority throughout the Indian Sub-continent, except the North West Frontier Province and the Baluchistan which had already been treated as Lawless Provinces and were not given any place on the further political map of India. Time had changed after the said Pact and a more farsighted political leader, Mohamed Ali, was now at the helm of affairs who could not easily be misled. So on hearing the Hindus' plea he came out with a statement saying:

> "It has been said on the part of the Hindu community that if communal representation must remain, then the Lucknow Pact, is the utmost limit which in such representation can be ceded. **The Comrade** had ceased to be published full two years before the Lucknow Pact had been concluded in 1916, and we were in no way responsible for that Pact. Nevertheless we would have

favoured its continuance even now that we were framing a Swaraj scheme were it not for the fact that in the Pact Bengal Muslims had been for the time being deprived of their majority and reduced to per cent representation in spite of a Muslim population of as high as 54 per cent. That sort of arrangement may be fair for a time, but it cannot be maintained in a permanent Swaraj constitution. Apart from that, the reluctance of the Hindus to allow the Muslims to be in majority even in two provinces out of so many is to our mind extremely unsporting. The Hindu Mahasaba Committee was anxious that even if the All-Parties Committee arrived at a conclusion which gave Bengal and the Punjab Muslim majorities to which their proportion of population entitled them, that conclusion should only be regarded as tentative, and that no conclusion of this sort should be final until it was assured that the Central Government, in which the Hindus were, of course, in a majority, would retain control over these Provincial Govenments. If the strong and even **dominant** Hindu minorities in the Punjab and Bengal can be so nervous with regard to Muslim majorities there, then what wonder is it if Muslim minorities seek to safeguard themselves by means of communal representation?"

Speeches-369-0

And he further proposed a via media in the following words :

> "In the present state of inter-communal feelings, the best thing to do, and the only one consonant with Muslim dignity is :

(a) to ask for clear-cut share of representation in exact proportion to population,

(b) to leave it to the minoritry in every constituency to say whether it would have its representation secured to it through separate electorates or would trust to the justice of joint territorial electorates, and,

(c) to protect the minorities by means of fundamental laws which no majority could alter and by means of a provision on the lines of the proviso in the Lucknow Pact, that no Bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution affecting any community....which question to be determined by the members of that community in the elected body concerned.....shall be proceeded with if three-fourths of the members of the community in that body oppose the Bill or any clause thereof or the resolution." Speeches P-364

Simon Commission

On the proclamation of Montagu - Chelmsford

Reforms the Indians were given to understand that the introduction of another instalment of reforms would take some ten years or so to enable the country to come nearer to her goal of Dominion status. To fulfil the promise the British Government appointed under Royal Warrant dated November 26, 1927, a Royal Commission with Sir John Simon (afterwards Viscount Simon) at its head to take stock of the Sub-continent and to submit proposals for the further extention of the reforms. This was the time, 1927, when Hindus and Muslims were at logger-heads. But. as the Government proposals fell short of peoples expectations the national workers once again joined hands and in spite of the fact that Hindu-Muslim differences were grave and of uncompromising nature they so unitedly and successfully boycotted the commission that it became a fact to remain recorded on the pages of history. The Commission visited India in February-March 1928 and again in October 1928, April 1929; and its Report was published on June 7, 1930, which in the words of His Highness The Aga Khan III.

> "......fell sharply short of the high expectations and hopes that its appointment had aroused," M.A.K. P-212

And with it Lord Irwin. the Viceroy, announced that His Majesty's Government proposed a Round Table Conference in London to conisder the future of the country and to reform its constitution.

The Delhi Proposals

Both the parties, the Hindus and the Muslims, were plastic stricken to their respective demands and were not willing to budge an inch from the stand they had taken. However‹ after the assassination of Swami Shardhanand, when the question turned more and more tense and the Simon Commission was in sight, necessity compelled the Hindus and the Muslims once again to unite, and the leaders tried to dig out an agreed formula on the basis of which they could face the British Government. Some prominent Muslims assembled at *Delhi to bring the Muslims of all shades of opinion* together, and they were successful formulating and declarring a formula on March 20, 1925, which was known later on as the Delhi Proposals. Though the Muslims were since then supporting the system of separate electorate the Proposals accepting joint electorate for the country with some res.rictions was agreed and the proposals were interconnected. To satisfy the Muslims Mohamed Ali issued a statement declaring that unless the Muslim majority was accepted and gauranteed in five provinces the question of joint electorate would not be applied or even rather discussed. It was followed with another statement by M. A. Jinnah that the proposals would be accepted or rejected in toto. Later on, the said Proposals were placed before the Muslim leaders at Simla where those were unanimously agreed upon. The Proposals briefly run as under:

1. Sind should be separate from the Bombay Presidency and made a separate province,

2. Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on exactly the same conditions as in any other provinces in India. If these conditions were accepted by the Hindu and the Muslim communities, Muslims would accept the system of joint electorate in all provinces and would make up the Hindu minorities, in the provinces where Hindus were in minorities, the same concessions that the Hindus were prepared to make to Muslim minorities elsewhere,

3. In the Punjab and Bengal, representation should be on the basis of population, and in the Central Legislature Muslims should be represented by not less than a third of the members.

The Hindu Mahasabha ignoring the inter-connected nature of the Prophsals tried to exploit the situation by shouting that the Muslims had accepted the system of joint electorate. However, the Congress and the Muslim League had accepted the Proposals and it was rightly expected that Pandit Motilal Nehru would present the same before the Government, but unfortunately the Pandit, under the pressure of Hindu Mahasabha failed to fulfil the obligations and Dr. M, A. Ansari as well as the Swarajists who had accepted the Proposals went back on their word. Anyhow, the Propoasls were plac-

ed before the All India Congress Committee during May 1927 and were accepted, only Dr. Mooje opposed saying that the Mahasabha could not bear the extension of reforms to the North West Frontier Province.

Congress Sub-Committee To Draft Constitution

The Congress had appointed a sub-committee under the leadership of Pandit Motilal Nehru to draft a Constitution for India, consisting of the following: Motilal Nehru, M. S. Aney, Subash Chandra Bose, M. A. Jayakar, N. M. Joshi, Pardhan, Mangal Singh, Sir Ali Imam and Shoaib Qureshi as Secretary. The sub-committee submitted its draft Constitution, later on called, the Nehru Report, after the name of its chairman, which fully ignored Muslim Propoasls or demands, granted all powers to the Central Legislature, with over whelming Hindu majority, and, among it there was a power-block under pressure of Hindu Mahasabha; and the accepted one-third proportion for Muslims in the Centre could not get a chance to appear on the pages of the Nehru Report. The Report beside the Khilafat Committee and the Muslim League was also condemned by Muslims throughout the country on its very publication and to a great extent by several other minorities. Shoaib, one of the two Muslim members of the committee boldly refused to sign the Report, and seeing the attitude of the Hindus was so disheartened that he left politics and joined as a minister in the Government of Bhopal.

Ignoring all out opposition of the Muslims, baring a few pseudo-Muslim Nationalists, Gandhiji moved the following resolution in the All India Congress Committee, praising 'virtual unanimity' of Nehru Committee's recommendations, though even its Secretary had refused to sign. The resolutiou which runs as under remained the guiding term of reference for the coming Convention:

> "This Congress having considered the Constitution recommended by the All Parties Committee Report welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems and congratulates the Committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendations, and whilst adhering to the resolution relating to complete independence passed at Madras the Congress adopts the Constitution drawn up by the Committee as a step of political advance, especially as it reprcsents the just measure of agreement attained amongst the important parties in the country......
>
> PWP p-97.

The pro-Congress Ulema and the Ahrar Party of the Punjab under the guidance of Abul Kalam Azad were spell-bound by the Cogress in supporting the Report.

Mohamed Ali was lying in Europe in connection with his medical treatment while Shaukat Ali was the only leader who fought with his body and soul and opp-

osed the Report, but his voice was too week to be heard by the intoxicated Congressites. The Report was adpted and gvien wide publicity. Among the Muslims, Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Tassaddiq Ahmed Khan Sherwani, Abdul Majid Khwaja, Zafar Ali Khan, Khaliq-uz-zaman, etc. were prominent in the field along with Jamiat-ul-Ulema to mislead the Muslims in support of the ill-famed Nehru Report, but they were all generals-without army and the masses had fully condemned the so-called Nehru Constitution.

All-Parties Mus im Conference:

The 1st half of the third decade of the twentieth century presents a dark and gloomy picture of disunity prevailing among the Indian Muslims. The Muslim Leaguers were at loggerheads among themselves. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind, with no clearcut policy, was wavering and shivering under the mighty resources and intrigues of the Hindu capitalists. The pseudo-Muslim Nationalists had been under the clutches of the Hindu leadership. The Khilafat Committee, the only body which could dare to oppose, had already been stabbed in the back by the said divines and the so-called nationalists, and, though it took the burden to smash the Hindu designs against the Muslims yet it was not powerfully competent to stop the Congress roller which was rolling with its full weight and speed crushing all those falling in its way. However, the lionhearted Shaukat Ali could not and did not give up the game. Soon

after his hands were strengthened by the return of Mohamed Ali from Europe. They, on the one hand, led the masses against the Nehru Report, while on the other, tried to have all the Muslim organisations united at least on the constitutional question. They firstly tried and induced Muslim members of the Legislatures to come forward and oppose the Report, just at a time when Pandit Motilal Nehru began canvassing support for his Report, briskly and diplomatically, with an object of having a resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly approving the principles embodied in the Nehru Report; the Brothers were so successful that a statement bearing signatures of some 28 Muslim members of the Central Legislature was issued from Simla on September 10, 1928 declaring that,

> "No constitution will be acceptable to the Mussalmans unless it provides effective and adequate protection of their interests."

Later on, many others from the Provincial Assemblies and the public life put their signatures and decided to hold an All-India Muslim Conference on November 11, 1928 in Delhi, and His Highness the Aga Khan III was invited to preside over a representative body in December of the same year.

To give the Conference a most representative position it was decided to invite about six hundred representatives belonging to all schools of thought. The com-

position was as follows:

1. All non-official Muslim members of all the Provincial Councils and the Central Legislature,

2. Twenty Muslim representatives each of the Khilafat Committee, the All India Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the All India Muslim League (Shaffi Group), the All India Muslim League (Jinnah Group).

3. Twenty representatives each of the Provinces of India.

In addition to above Dr. M. A. Ansari, Sir Ali Imam, Hassan Imam, Yaqoob Hassan of Madras and Abul Kalam Azad were also invited. Unfortunately those who were especially invited and had accepted the invitation,did not participate and the Jinnah Group of the League refused to attend questioning the represetative character of the Conference, Mufti Kifayatullah, President of the Jamiat, along with other members joined the Conference and delivered a forceful speech declaring:

> "I am here to support the resoluntion which is extremely important one. This resolution is brought forward in a meeting which is the representative gathering to protect the interest of the Muslim community. No one has any right to say that Muslims have accepted the Nehru Report.

It would be wrong if any one says so and it would be just one's throwing dust on the sun. I support this resolution on behalf of the Jamiat ul-Ulema Hind". (M.A.J.)

Unfortunately, the Congress' pull though Abul Kalam Azad proved effective in dislodging this divine's body from the height of Muslims' unity and pushing it into the depth of degradation to work against the community interests. The Jamiat turned its back and ignoring what its President, Kifaytullah, had said, began to cry in support of the Nehru Report. It would be interesting to note that history repeated itself in 1937 when Jamiat which was supporting the All India Muslim League, all of a sudden, changing the front appeared dancing to the tunes played by the Congress against the Muslim League. The author of Pathway to Pakistan, describes the incident, saying:

"The Allahabad meeting of the *Ulema* was held on 17 May (1937) and the next day I read in the Press that the *Ulema* had decided to leave the Muslim League Parliamentary Board and to go over to Congress unconditionally. It was a great success for Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as he had managed to get a contrary *Fatwa* from the *Ulema* within twelve days of their meeting at Moradabad in which they had decided to remain with Muslim League." p.157

The Jinnah Group of the Muslim Leavue had not participated in the deliberations of the Conference but it severely opposed the Report. The Conference drafted its demands under Fourteen heads while the Jinnah Group also formulated identical proposals called Jinnah's E urteen Points, there being no material difference between the said two sets of proposals or demands. And when the Congress called an All Parties Convention described in the following pages, Mohamed Ali Jauhar and Mohamed Ali Jinnah both were standing shoulder to shoulder in condemning the Nehru Report and both the soldiers turning back to the Convention remained in opposition. Jauhar and Jinnah opposed the Report, pressed for the acceptance of the Muslims demands.

> "Maulana Mohamed Ali's speech," writes Khaliq-uz-zaman, a supporter of the Nehru Report, "was like the burst of a crater, emitting lava, smoke and dust, full of hard hits. insinuations and threats." (PWP-p98)

The All Parties Muslim Conference was a party composed of members of all shades of opinion, co-operators and non-co-operators with the Government, extremists and moderates, except the Congressite Muslims. Khilafatists were, in fact, mainly responsible for its unity, success and its lead practically was in the hands of those who were prominently and whole-

heartedly connected with the Khilafat Committee such as, Shaukat Ali, Mohamed Ali, Abdullah Haroon, Nawab Ismail Khan, Syed Murtaza Bahadur, etc. and the Secretary of the Conference was Shaffi Daudi, a Vice-President of the All India Khilafat Committee. Similary the Khilafatists in the provinces were busy with the job like the Central Khilafat Committee.

Muslims' Unanimous Demands – 14 Points.

The Muslims' unanimous demands also called the Fourteen Points, referred to above were laid down as under:

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the Provinces.
2. A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all Provinces,
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every Province without reducing the majority in any Province to a minority or even equality,
4. In the Central Legislature, Mussalmans' representation shall not be less than one third,
5. Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present; provided it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of

joint electorate,

6. Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and North West Frontier Province,

7. Full religious liberty i. e. liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities,

8. No Bill or resolution or any part shall be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body if three fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill, resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community, or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases,

9. Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency,

10. Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other Provinces,

11. Provision should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with other Indians in all the services of the State and in local

self-government bodies having due regard to the requirements of effeciency,

12. The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal law and Muslim charitable institutions and for their due share in the grant-in-aid given by the State and by local self-government bodies,

13. No Cabinet either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of atleast one-third Muslim Ministers,

14. No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central legislature except with the concurrence of the states constituting in Indian Federation. The draft resolution also mentions an alternative to the above provision in the following terms:

"That in the present circumstances, representation of Mussalmans in the different Legislatures of the country and other elected bodies through the separate electorates is inevitable and further, the Government being pledged over and over again not to disturb this franchise so granted to the Muslim community since 1909 till such time as the Mussalmans chose to abandon it, the Mussalmans will not consent to joint electorate unless Sind is actually constituted into a separate province

and reforms in fact are introduced in the N. W. F. P. and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other province.

Further, it is provided that there shall be reservation of seats according to the Muslim population in the various provinces, but where Mussalmans are in majority they shall not contest more seats than their population warrants.

The question of excess representation of Mussalmans over and above their population in provinces where they are in a minority is to be considered hereafter.

The Nationalist Muslims–A Congress Creation.

Opposition to the Nehru Report was so severe and wide-spread that the Congress Muslim leaders, like Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Ansari and similar others could not dare to face the masess. Every gathering they tried to arrange was dispersed by the general public. So much so, that when in March 1929, they assembled in Delhi in a hall to support the Report, "hundreds of people from outside knocked down the doors of the hall and threw out the supporters of the Report one by one clearing the hall."(PWP). The Congress looking at the helpless and critical position of its camp-followers became "naturally anxious that the Nationalist Muslims should have an indepandent organisation to support the

Congress programme and the Nehru Report" (PWP) And, thus inspired by the Congress the so-called Nationalist Muslims assembled at the residence of Tasaddaq Ahmed Khan Sherwani at Allahabad on July 27. 1929 to plant an organisation in support of the Nehru Report against the popular Muslim demands and the community's interests, with Dr. M. A. Ansari and Khaliq-uz-zaman, President and Secretary respectively with the divinely and political support of Abul Kalam Azad; but, Nature had destined a shameful failure for them all.

All Parties Convention At Calcutta, 1928.

Mohamed Ali on return from Europe though needed long deserved rest yet the country and the Muslims could not allow him his pesonal needs and requirements and was summoned to the battlefield and he could not be slow in his duties. Shaukat Ali had so far been fighting single-handed and when Mohamed Ali joined him, there was none among the Muslim Congressites to face them. Many Muslim workers, in fact, had been won over to the Congress and they did spread mischief but on the appearance of Mohamed Ali majority of the shouting throats began to sink low. Seeing the stiff opposition under the guidance of the Ali Brothers and the apparent helplessness of the Muslim camp-followers in the Congress, another hypocritical step was taken by the Hindus. An All Parties Convention was summoned to hold its delibrations at Calcutta towards the end of

1928. The Ali Brothers joined it and led the Khilafatists while M. A. Jinnah was at the head of the Muslim Leaguers. Similarly other parties also participated, Discussions began but all reasoning and arguments put forward by Muslims fell on deaf ears.

> "Maulaua Mohamed Ali in the Convention did put up a gallant fight," writes M. Noman, "for independence and he criticised the psychology of those who argued that Dominion Status was only a temporary phase and that afterwards they would get independence. This policy he characterised as a policy of the coward and not of the fighter."
>
> MIN p-279

The Convention proved a farce only to throw dust in the eyes of the world. The Ali Brothers and M. A. Jinnah with their followers and co-workers walked out of the Convention declaring their open opposition but the Congress remained adamant and adopted the Report in their absence.

Khilafat Session At Calcutta.

Along with the Convention the All India Khilafat Committee also held its session at Calcutta presided over by Mohamed Ali. Nehru Report became the target of heavy fire and Mohamed Ali severely condemned it in his extempore presedential address and referring to its acceptauce of "the satus of a British Dominion" he said:

"You make compromises in your constitution every day with false doctrine, immoral conceptions and wrong ideas, but you make no compromise with Muslims over the separate electorates and reserved seats. You are a Jew, a Bania".

In opposition To The Nehru Report.

The Ali Brothers and Jinnah boldly left Calcutta to lead the Muslim masses and bravely threw a challenge to the Congress. This was the time when the Ali Brothers who had infused life in the Congress openly disowned it. Motilal Nehru reading the situation asked Mohamed Ali, "not to leave us," to which through the same electrically working instrument he replied that Muslims had placed their cards before the Convention and had nothing to add; and, that it was time for the non-orthodox Hindu leaders to go forward and induce their communalist brethren to walk on the road of sanity. There was no response to this telegram, rather the Congress pushed its camp-followers into the field; another party appeared on the scene, as stated above, called themselves, Muslim Nationalists. Mohamed Ali retorting the Congress soid:

"Only a few months back I had returned to my unfortunate home after an extensive tour of Europe and Asiatic countries. No where in the world did I hear the cry of Hindu-water and Hindu-tea except in India and yet these very people accuse

> Muslims as separatists.........We are depicted in the Hindu and the so-called Nationalist Press as shirkers of our duty and responsibility even by men who have never made any sacrifice. The records of 1919 and 1925, bear witnesses to the courage and sacrifices of Mussalmans and yet to-day when we demand our rights, monopolists turn round, abuse and misrepresent us. We have accepted the Madras Resolution of Independence as our goal. Compare that with the Nehru Report offered us. It is only meant to perpetuate slavery and Hindu domination." MIN p-296

And, when the stooges of the Congress tried to grip the last straw to save themselves from drowning by crying out that Mohamed Ali did not like Freedom and that only the Congress was fighting for the same, Mohamed Ali severely rebuked them:

> "I declare in unambiguous terms that I love Freedom, that may be of an Islamic country or even of any part of Kafiristan (land of the infidels) I feel pleasure to see a Free Japan and have all desire to see China liberated and independent. I like to see Nepal as independent as Afghanistan."
>
> Hamdard 1929

Now both the forces were in the field. Mohamed Ali launched an anti-Nehru Report campaign. The Muslim masses stood solidly with the Ali Brothers who in

spite of many weak and pliant companions advocated their policy with courage, good humour and wisdom. Urdu Press was generally under the influence of the Hindu capitalists, the supporters of the Congress, and was showering bitterly on the Brothers except the most mentionable Daily Inqilab of Lahore, under the editorship of Gulam Rasul Mehar and Abdul Majid Salik, and a few other papers. The credit of changing the political atmosphere of the Punjab where so many Urdu papers, including the *Zamindar* of Zafar Ali Khan were supporting the Nehru Report goes to the said *Inqilab,* which successfully carried the opposition by presenting convincing articles, arguments and kept on fighting till the Report was drowned in the river Ravi. In short, Mohamed Ali was widely accused and threatened by the said Press and partisan propagandists, but all failed to prove any hindrance in his way.

> "He was not a coward," writes Shaukat Ali, "and had the courage of his convictions and would not yield to any one at the point of the bayonet when he knew that truth and righteousness were on his side. He laughed at dangers for himself and was determined not to spare himself in the cause of peace which he championed."
>
> (Foreword LW.M)

Mohamed Ali needed rest but it was not destined for him. The Muslims in general and Shaukat Ali in particular considered him a soul-in-steel structure. In

their opinion Mohamed Ali neither felt tired nor required anything external to keep his soul and body alive. With slightly improved health he had to rush to Patna, Calcutta, Delhi and so many other places and in addition to all these he was summoned by Shaukat Ali to reach Bombay and represent the riot-ridden Muslims before the officially appointed Government Enquiry Committee. He was all the time busy and the national duties compelled him to such an extent that, ignoring his daughter, so seriously lying in bed, he left for Burma in March 1929 where Dr. Zakir Hussain (late President of India) had the honour to serve him as a Secretary. Hardly he had spent two weeks in Burma when on receipt of an urgent call from Central Khilafat office, Bombay, he one again appeared measuring the soil of India. His many friends and co-workers, as has already been described, were busy in the Congress camp winning over Muslim masses in favour of the Nehru Report. Many who had differed with him on the question of kingship of Ibne Saud, murder of Murtads in Afghanistan and similar other questions were up in arms to take revenge. In addition to all these Mohamed Ali had lost his powerful weapons, *The Comrade* and *The Hamdard*, due to financial difficulties. He was even ejected from his rented house in Delhi for having failed to pay rent regularly to an opponent in politics. Mohamed Ali was compelled to take shelter under the roof of his son-in-law, Abdul Majid Khan, and later on, shifted to another house in Karolbagh, Delhi.

Congress Launches Contact Movement.

Had Mohamed Ali not exposed the Hindu conspiracy hatched behind the smokescreen of the notorious Nehru Report Muslim India would have fatally fallen to the greatest peril in its history and Pakistan would have not seen the light of the day. No person with a spark of honesty in his mental make-up can dare to deny the following unassailable facts:

The Congress Movement was in its full swing in 1928. Many of our Muslim leaders, some by conviction but many under the influence of glittering gold and charming faces, had not only foresaken the Khilafat organisation but were also doing their worst to drive the whole Muslim community towards the altar of Gandhianism. Many personalities, with high sounding names. appeared with Quran and Hadith on their lips to mislead the Muslims and who could contradict the proverb "Satan quoting scriptures". But, Mohamed Ali was not to be caught napping and become a victim to this treacherous trap. He could not be purchased by pelf or place, by flattery or threat, hence the Hindus changing their tactics, began to shower praise on pro or would be Congressite Muslims while Mohamed Ali and his comrades were dubbed as communalists. A. Movement under the ostensible name of Mass Contact was launched, camps of young Congress volunteers, boys and girls, sprang up suddenly and every Muslim renegade was encouraged and incited against the Khilafatists.

Thus, the Congress once again appeared successfully in dividing the Muslims into Congressites and non-Congressites. The Congress roller was moving with its full weight and all those who fell in its way were crushed, but Mohamed Ali, who as an English author has said, 'had the heart of Napoleon, pen of Macauly and tongue of Burke', knew no fears, no disappointments and no defeats. He feared none but Almighty Allah. In the cause of justice he would not spare any one, as he himself declared, his own aged old mother. He stood like a rock and without thinking of any worldly gain or loss was espousing the cause of the Muslims.

On the one hand he was facing the mighty British Government and yet on another he had to cross swords with the Hindu Congress. Muslims were between the devil and the deep sea. He had asked the Congress: What would be the position of Muslims after the freedom is won? In answer the Congress with its voiceless and servile Muslim camp-followers attempted to mislead the people by saying, 'Let us first achieve Swaraj and after that the question of rights and privileges will be settled.' To this Mohamed Ali readily retorted, 'Let us declare Revolution, bring Revolution, and after that we will sit down and settle, Muslims will appear in the forefront for Revolution.' Revolution was not to the taste of the timid Hindu leadership. They were satisfied with constitutional piece-meals achievements and by

side-tracking Muslims they hoped to gradually occupy governmental chairs. Mohamed Ali could not agree to allow his community to be decieved and destroyed by this diabolitical Hindu design.

Congress Resolution of Independence, A Farce.

The Congress moved heaven and earth to lure Muslims but they flatly refused to surrender and followed their tried and trusted leaders, the Ali Brothers. Muslims in the Congress camp became bewildered. As Muslims had always been exploited in the name of their religion and freedom the Congress thought of a new move with the backing of its Muslim camp-followers. A step was taken, Jawharlal was garlanded as a National Hero to declare Complete Independencet for India. During the annual session of the All India Congress Committee, 1929, the Nehru Report was declared to be drowned in the river Ravi (Lahore).

Mohamed Ali could not sit idle nor was he to be deterred from boldly facing any worldly force. He rushed to Lahore and called the annual session of the All India Khilafat Committee at the same place, under the Presidentship of Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan of Meerut. There could be no comparison between the huge Congress *Pandal* constructed on the banks of the river Ravi which sprang up over-night with the financial resources of Tatas and Birlas; and, the Khilafat camp which was propped up on the lawns of Islamia College,

Lahore. Mohamed Ali now had to fight on three fronts; firstly against the British, secondly against the insignificant group of renegades who had deserted their mother institution, the Khilafat Committee. The Frontier Pathans to this day were supporting Mohamed Ali unitedly, but under the influence of Abul Kalam Azad the solidarity of the Province was also shaken and the workers were divided into two camps. This was the time when a contingent of Khilafat volunteers siding with Azad participated in the Congress Session at Lahore, under Syed Lalbadshah of Peshawar and, the other supporting Mohamed Ali led by me appeared in the Khilafat Conference. The Pathan volunteers joining the Congress were blessed and embraced by all the high-ups of the Congress, every facility was afforded to them and to such an extent that they were allowed to eat meat which was forbidden for all others in the Congressnagar; and, Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, participated in a national dance organised by the volunteers and practically took part in it with a turban on his head.

The slogan of Complete Independence was most attractive and appealing to the Muslim mind and turned out to be comman-man's talk in Lahore rather throughout the country. It was propagated that just after passing the resolution declaring Complete Independence the British would have no other way except to surrender, and, that all those who were not under the

tricolour banner of the Congress would suffer badly. A whispering compaign was carried all around the Khilafat camp and our young blood was perplexed and did not know how to refute the critics. Though the Khilafat Committee had declared their goal of Complete Independence years before, but who cared for a resolution passed or adopted months or years ago. Every one was eager to have an immediate remedy to face the situation. With the consultation of co-workers, I moved a resolution in the Khilafat Subjects Committee which in fact was a repeataition of the said old one. Nothing new was inserted in it and we did not expect opposition from any of our members. But, quite against our expectations Mohamed Ali came out with a harsh rebuke that it was my cowardice that I wanted to imitate the Congress. I tried to convince him but failed. However, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, the President, and Shaffi Daud one of the Vice-Presidents of the Khilafat Committee came to my rescue, and supported me. Mohamed Ali made an amendment in my resolution and the matter was settled. I moved the resolution in the open session of the Conference and was garlanded by Shaukat Ali on behalf of the citizens of Lahore.

Congress and the Round Table Conference.

The London Round Table Conference was in sight. All pomp and show on the banks of the river Ravi were to induce and compel through public pressure the non-Congressite Muslims to boycot the same and hand over

to the Congress the power of attorney to represent the whole of India but the Congress miserably failed to achieve its object. To save its face the Congress declared to boycot the Round Table Conforence. The Congress was confident that the authorities would yield but contrary to its expectations the Cenference was summoned and the high-ups of the organisation participated in it in their individual capacities as the Government had decided not to invite any organisation or its representatives. Moh med Ali on the other hand unreservedly declared that he and other Muslims would partcipate in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference. Gandhi, later on, on his own request was invited to the Conference and attended the Second round of its proceedings. It was during the first session of the Conference where Mohamed Ali had declared that he would either take with him the substance of Complete Independence or prefer to get a few feet of ground for his grave in an independent country. How tragically true these words proved is now a matter of common history. It was destined for Mohamed Ali to row the boat in a stormy and rough sea and hand it over to Quaed-e-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah to pilot her to the shore of Complete Independence — Pakistan.

Sarda Act.

During the critical period of the year of 1929 another storm raised its head when the Central Legislature

took into consideration a bill which had been introduced by a Hindu member in 1927 in connection with the child marriages prevalent among his community. It had nothing to do with the Muslims and they were not interested in it ; but later on after passing several stages the Bill encircled the Muslims also by the foolishness of some Muslim legislators and ignorance shown by some of the Ulema. It may have been considered at that time as a triffling matter yet the Muslims as a whole could not tolerate any interference in their personal law, traditions and customs. Resentment sprang up from all corners of the sub-continent. Mohamed Ali wrote a forceful article on the subject on March 25, 1929. But soon he had to leave Delhi, under medical advice, for Pabhini (Deccan). From there he proposed to write to the Viceroy of India but having failed to get the services of a typist could not do so, and remained confident that those on the helm of the affairs would look after the matter. He calmly spent a few days there. During his return journey he learnt at Indore that the Bill had been carried by the legislature and was going to receive the Viceroy's accent. He sat with-out wasting a moment and typed himself a long letter addressed to the Head Representative of the British Government in India condemning the authorities for allowing the measure to be debated on the floor of the Legislature as far as it concerned the Muslim community.

The Muslims of India at the time were divided into two warring camps, one supporting and the other opposing the ill-famed Nehru Report. The Jamiat-ul-Ulem-e-Hind which had rendered meritorious services during the Non-co-operation Movement was following in the heels of the Congress and though the question of opposing the Sarda Bill did not concern the politics of the time yet they were not so bold to come forward lest the Hindu leaders might become annoyed. The Muslims of Delhi who never lacked behind in taking keen interest in their community affairs were up once again in proposing to hold a grand public meeting and send a Deputation to the Viceroy. From Indor Mohamed Ali had left for Bhopal where from his consent to become one of the Convenors of the proposed meeting was telegraphically obtained. Mohamed Ali rushed to Delhi. Consultations began and it was decided that he should preside over the meeting and lead the deputation. The Jamiat was in a very critical and uncertain position. They did not like and could not bear that Mohamed Ali, against whom they had so far used all their weapons should once again become leader of the agitation and ruin their cause, the Nehru Report.

However, as the meeting had been called by the citizens of Delhi and they had proposed the name of Mohamed Ali to preside, the Jamiat could not oppose the move since many from their own rank and file were severely opposed to the Bill and considered no

harm in supporting Mohamed Ali, who was standing for a just cause. Many of the members of the Jamiat itself had already issued a *Fatwa* condemning the Sarda Bill. It was also decided that the name of Mohamed Ali would be proposed by the President of the Jamiat and suppored by Hakim Jamil Khan of Dehli. But, contrary to all decisions the Jamiat began to play fast and loose and at the nick of the time Mohamed Ali was requested to withdraw his name from the presidentship of the public meeting. Naturally this double tongued policy of the leading Ulema, perturbed Mohamed Ali, who considering it an insult to occupy such a controversial chair; delivered a short speech and left the meeting before any one else occupied the presidential chair. Many of the Ulema and the audience desired to leave the meeting but Mohamed Ali prevented them in the greater interest of the community lest the Muslims become a laughing stock for the Government and the Hindus. After the meeting a representative Deputation was formed under the leadership of Mohamed Ali; Muslims of all shades of opinion were included in it, and the names of many prominent members of the Jamiat were decorating the list, such as Kifayatullah, Ahmed Saeed, President and Secretary of the Jamiat respectively, who later on did not accompany the Deputation taking Shelter under lame excuses, while their co-workers Hussain Ahmed Madni, Inayatullah, Mohammed Tayyeb etc participated.

During the debate on the bill the Government had appointed a body called, Age of Consent Committee, before whom some of the members of Jamiat including its Secretary had appeared. With the consent of all the members of the deputation Mohamed Ali scrutinising the said committee's Report drafted a statement covering no less than 25 typed pages to be presented to the Viceroy. The Deputation waited on the Viceroy and was heard patiently on November 9 and 15, 1929, but then viceroy regretted to have no constitutional powers to help the Muslims at that stage. This disappointment led to launch a more vigorous movement to oppose the measure. Mohamed Ali proposed practical defiance of the Bill, which had by that time become a Law. He advised the Muslims to arrange marriages of boys of 16 or 17 and girls of 15 or 16 years' age, but of only those who really deserved to be married and that no mockery marriage was to be solemnized. The Jamiat, though in agreement with the proposed defiance of the Law, yet seeing that it was losing the game, created another organisation under the name of *Majlis Tahafuz-e-Shariat*, to carry the programme. The selfishness of the organisation did not permit inclusion of Mohamed Ali's name in the list of its members, although in fact it was Mohamed Ali who had aroused the Ulema from their long slumber. From the general public this new organisation did not get any mentionable response. The Movement spread without any Central organisation, marriages in defiance of the Act were solemnized

and Peshawar was the first to have publicly denounced the Act and performed *Nikah* ceremonies in public meetings. Thereafter the Act remained inoperative upon the Muslims. The act had only blackened the pages of the Indian Statute.

Invited To Africa And Russia.

It appears that the year 1929 proved to be the most embarassing year for the Brothers. Mohamed Ali had to rush to Mussoori Hill where his daughter, Hamidabee, was lying in a serious condition, all the available physicians had tried their best to save her but nature had destined otherwise. She breathed her last by the end of July 1929. Inspite of financial difficulties the deadbody was removed to Delhi and was buried there. Mohamed Ali was holding high esteem in the Muslim world. The Muslims of Africa, who were originally residents of Bombay Presidency, hearing of the shock which Mohamed Ali had received invited him to pay a visit to that country so that on one hand they could enjoy his company while on the other his attention be diverted to some extent from the unbearable shock.

The Young Muslim Society of Africa had made elaborate arrangements to accord Mohamed Ali a royal reception. A special railway train was to carry him on the soil and the building selected for his stay is said to have been one of the famous buildings of the

country built at a cost of more than £ 50,000. Shauket Ali left in advance and Mahamed Ali was to follow him towards the end of 1929 when all of a sudden, just after he had reserved a seat for the voyage, the African Government demanded from hir cash security to retain his conduct good during the days he had to reside on the soil of Africa. Though the amount demanded was of no importance yet there involved a a question of principle. Messages were exchanged telegraphically, even the Government of India tried to intervene but failed to convince the colonial government. Thus Mohamed Ali put off his departure and and Shauket Ali who had already been in Africa enjoyed the trip alone.

During the same year Mohamed Ali was invited by Russia to attend the Revolutionary Conference bu since he had become so busiliy involved in the loca politices he could not undertake the journey and appea on the socialist soil.

Khilafat Committee's Historical Statement of April 1930

Prior to the official announcement of holding Round Table Conference in London the Khilafa Committee had retoriated its goal Complete Independ ence, and the Congress, scrapping the Nehru Repor and its demand of Dominion status also decided i favour of complete independence. Both had conclude their important sessions held at Lahore durin

December 1929; and both scattered throughout the country to achieve their object, of course, not co-operating with each other. On 27th February 1930, Mr. Gandhi announced his plan of campaign to achieve India's independence by breaking the Salt Law, and Sardar Patel towards Dandi in March and was arrested. Where upon Gandhi himself took the burden, started his journey on March 20th and was arrested on April 5, 1930.

Thus Sardar Patel tried to defy law during March 1930 but was arrested. Muslims having bitter experience of the Hindu mentality could not allow him to enjoy such a position, and to expose inconsistencies of the Congress and the consistencies of the Khilafat Committee issued a lengthy Statement during the month of April 1930. This Statement had been considered as an historical dodument, was given wide publicity and also publishd in a booklet form covering some 27 pages. The Statement of Mohamed Ali was adopted with slight modification by the All-India Khilafat working Committee in its sitting at Delhi. The Statement briefly narrated the facts which led Muslims to join hands with the Congress and they sincerely served the cause of the nation and complete independence of India.. It for Gandhi:.

"Mahatma Gandhi, it must be remembered, was not in favour of complete independence even as

> the ultimate goal of India, and his views expressed in his papers after the Madras Congress would furnish a very ourious contrast to what he is saying today." P-3

While the Khilafat Committee, after making complete independence its goal at Madras, it never abandoned it in favour of Dominion Status, nor after co-operating with those who would not go beyond Dominion Status in forming Muslim demands has it deserted them. P-8 Refering to the Future Constitution it said :-

> " Naturally any Constitution that could be framed in these democratic days was bound to introduce for the first time into India the rule of the majority, and, as the *Muslmans* were only a minority, it was they that needed safegaurds for the protection of their rights and interests. Nevertheless the Khilafat workers trusted that communalism would receive its quietus in the struggle for freedom, and therefore centirued the struggle without pressing for any safeguards for the Muslim minority......... Indians have been brought up so long on unrealities that they have an itch for Constitution-making, imagining that Constitutions could be made by debating societies, and all that was needed to make them was a majority of votes. They had long ceased to make history, and to think in terms of history. They

did not realise how other nations had sacrificed thousands of valueable lives in winning the right to make or repeal a single clause of their Constitution. They forgot what enemy they had to fight, and they wrangled with friends so long and with such pugnacity and persistence -nay, with so much rancour and ill-will that they often turned friends into enemies. It wat a recognition of these distressing realities that made the organisers of the Khilafat Movement content to leave Constitution - making alone, and continue to develope the strength of India from within,with a view to assert it when the time arrived, and to have it recognised by the world, and then to frame by common consent of all interests, parties and communities concerned a Constitution for a free and self-governing India". P-5-6.

And of the inter-communal strife it said :-

" As for Mahatma Gandhi himself, he not only failed to improve the situation during his year of Presidentship of the Congress but also failed to to denounce, unlike the Khilafat organisers, those who were responsible for it in his own community. Once more the Khilafat and the Congress Organisations presented a curious contrasts, while the the Khilafat Organisation did not even hesitate to part with its own President for the year, Dr. Kitchlew, who was imitating the Hindu

> Mahasbha leaders, Mahatma Gandhi, the President of the Congress, observed complete silence on the subject of the deliquencies of Hindu communalists." P-7

And then narrating how continuously the Khilafat workers struggled to have Hindu-Muslim Settlement, it ran :-

> "For the first time majority rule was being introduced into India. Communalism was unfortunately rampant; and it was not the *Musalmans* but the Hindus that formed an over-whelming majority in the country. They were willing to accept the majority rule; but naturally they asked for safeguards for the Mislim minority. They sought to kill communalism by devising constitutional means for thwarting the communalism of the majority, whether Hindu or Muslim, where-ever it raised its head. The Goldern Rule of ethics is—Do unto others what you wish that the others should do unto you. Politics also has a Silver Rule, which may be stated as follows: " Be in a position to dounto others what you fear that the others may do unto you". P-10-11

And added :-

> " But Pandit Motilal Nehru, who had agreed to all this (Delhi proposals) and had himself moved the adoption of these safeguards in the A. I. C. C.

meeting held at Bombay, now once more sought to placate the Hindu Mahasabha by denying even for a time the protection that their small majorities so badly needed in the Punjab and Bengal, and would allow them to bo converted into minorities. The separation of Sindh was made doubtfull by being saddled with needless and illogical conditions. In short, *Musalmans* were to be nowhere in the majority just when majority rule was sought to be established" P-11-12

And further added :-

" Muslim opposition to this volte face of Pandit Motilal Nehru was repeatedly ignored, and it was Mahatma Gandhi, whose own creation was the Nehru Committee, who now completely deserted the *Musalmans* and made the Nehru Report his war cry." P-12-13

Regarding the Round Table Conference the Statement ran :-

" Whether this was due to righteousness or merely to a return of common-sense, it certainly indicated a change of heart. India was afforded an opportunity such as it had never had before to assert itself and to have its national identity recognised by the world. It could now convince the world that freedom was its birth-right ; and no Commission could be sent out by those that

had usurped it to Judge its fitness for receiving baek its heritage, and that the hard lessons of a century and a half of foreign domination had taught the Indians not to seek domination over each other but fredom for all, and equality of upportunities, and fraternity transcending even equility, so that the strong would support and suppress the weak, and the learned would only teach and not over reach the ignorant. This was the time to reach a final settlement between India ruled by the British and India still ruled in a way by the Indians, i. e., the Indian Princes, between the Hindus and *Mnsalmans*, and, among the. Hiudus themselves, between the high caste and the low caste and the touchables and the untauchables.

"But that, alas, was not to be, and Mahatma Gaddhi rejected all requests pressed by *Musalmans* for one more effort at such a settlement. He now claims to kill communalism merely by ignoring it, which only means that the communalism of the majority must continue and must dictate in the name of the "national" government of a "completely independent" country whatever the minority community is to receive. This is not killing communalism, but subjecting the minority community to the communalism of the majority community. Real communalism masquerades as

"nationalism" and safegaurds against communalism itself are called "communalism." P-15-16

Reffering to the Nehru Repor the Statement said :-

"It is not known who weilded the bayonet and urged alteration of that ill-omened and ill-concieved report at the point of the bayonet; but if justice demanded any alterations who is the Arch-Dictator that can say that alternations shall not be made now, but only "when the report has gained weight enough to compel acceptance?" This is not freedom, nor peace, but compulsion and war. The Nehru Report was evidently sought to be pushed down the throats of seventy millions of *Musalmans* with the help of a bayonet used as a fork." P-18

Reffering to the reply by Gandhi to Shaukat Ali the statement summed thus :-

"His (Gandhi's) interpretation of the Congress resolution published in "Young India" and his article in reply to Maulana Shauket Ali are but the paraphrase of his "war cry" of a year ago, as he chracterised the Nehru report. If the *Musalmans* do not accept it, let them stay away. They are not needed. The freedom of India can be won without them. The "spent bullet" of yesterday has acquired, or will soon acquire, as

he says in his article in reply to Maulana Shaukat Ali, "irresistible force." If the *Musalmans* do not come willy today, they will come nilly tomorrow. The Mahatma has prophesied. To have no strength of their own; they cannot stand on their own legs; let them hang on the support of the Mahatma's followers. There is no alternative for them. Luckily this is not true; but even if it were, it would be better for *Musalmans* to perish unsupported than hang on such support. As the Persian Poet has said:

> Haqqa ki ba uqubat-i-duzakh barabar ast
> Raftan ba paimardi-i-hamsaya dar bahisht.

(Verily it is equal to the torments of the Inferno To enter Paradise using thy sturdy neigbour as a crutch.) P-19

Commenting on the Gandhi Stayagarah it says :-

"The Mahatma has himself cofessed that we have today fear more than we had five years ago the atmorphere for violence......Hindus and *Musalmans* are not united, nor are Swarajists, No-changers, Liberals, Home Rulers and Muslim Leaguers. And yet as a Congressman, presumably wishing to keep the Congress intact, instead of suspending Non-co-operation, as he did five years ago in response to Pandit Motilal Nehru's importunity,

Gandhi is launching a No-Tax campaign in response to the importunity of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru." P.24

At the end of the Statement Muslims were asked to unite and

"........must not imitate the desperate throw of the gambler. Fortunately for the Muslim masses, no Muslim leader is doing so. The handful of individuals that are seeking self-advertisment are just those the ebb and flow of whose "nationalism" have already provided amazing "temperature charts." They are incapable of demonstrating consistent behavious and sustained constructive work. And yet it is work of this character that the community needs for its earthly as well as for is heavenly salvation." P-25

"The Khilafat Organisation is for independence" says the Statement, "not for slavery; and just as it has resfused to let the Muslim community remain a dependency of the British, it now refuses to make it a dependency of any other community or party. It is hungry for freedon and would not accept a mere change of masters. Let the *Musalmans* keep **both** their eyes open, and watch the situation. **They can throw in their lot only with those who would recognise freedom as the birthright of India, ansd would at the same time recognise the birthright of India, and would at the**

> **same time recognise the birthright of the Indian Musalmans to be free and equal partners in the administration of India.** But all this is idle talk if *Musalmans* are unwilling to do constructive work and merely yearn for a display of fireworks." P-26

Asking the muslims to stregthen the Khilafat Organisation by enlisting themselves as its Members and Volunteers the Statement concluded with the following words :

> " With this proof of being a living community the *Musalmans* can compel recognition of their communal identity and respect for their legitimate rights. Without this they can be nothing but camp followers whether of an alien Government or of other Indian communities. It is they themselves that must decide, and that by actions and not by words, whether they love freedom or slavery.
>
> *Himmah baland dar ki nizdi Khud-o-khaliq*
> *Bashad ba qadr-e-nimmat-i-tu iqtidar-i-tu.*
> (Keep high thy resolve, for with Gad and man
> Thy worth is in accordance with thy resolve.)

Glittering Stars of Muslim Politics 1920 – 1930

MUSLIM LEADERS ON POLITICAL HORIZON

TWENTIETH century of the Christian era dawned on India with a new life for the Muslims. They began to organise themselves in modern ways to impress the British Govt. as well as the Hindus to have their separate entity recognised in the field of politics. Muslim league appeared on the scene dominated by those who could be called pro-government or in a liberal way the moderates. But, the first decade of the century had scarcely elapsed when the Ali Brothers and Abul Kalam Azad, with ever increasing rapidity emerged on the horizon to grasp community's leadership, when all of a sudden the **treacherous** hands of the Government put them behind the bars to remain there for about five years.

The second decade of the century had not yet passed when towards the end of 1919 they came out of the jail; and the year 1920, with the advent of the Khilafat movement, shook the whole Muslim community irrespective of any sectarian differences. However,

the days of the Moderate leaders seemed to have been counted and the new Four Dazzling Stars appeared on the sky of the Muslim politics, and the whole community compelled under circumstances to whirl around them viz. The Ali Brothers, Abul Kalam Azad, Hasrat Mohani and Ajmal Khan. Undoubtedly, there were other light-reflecting stars of all-India fame and also many illuminating their respective Provinces.

Of the four mentioned above, Ajmal Khan had been gifted with a sound and tolerable mind, seriousness and far-sightedness. A true Muslim and fond of winning freedom for his fatherland, he was a great friend of both the Ali Brothers and Azad. He was held in high esteem by the Muslims and non-Muslims alike and greatly respected even by Gandhi and his co-workers. In case of the Nehru Report he differed with the Congress and supported the Muslims' demands. He spent sufficient good time to keep the Ali Brothers and Azad united, who inwardly differed among themselves, and was successful to a great extent.

Hasrat Mohani.

Next, Hasrat Mohani, and accepted most sincere extremist leader of his time, holding his own views. His sufferings in the national struggle can find no parralel in the history of the Non-co-operation Movement. By nature he was a truc Muslim and knew no moderation. He desired to see the country on the

march to snatch freedom from the clutches of the foreigners —But not with any slow pace. He could ignore even constitutional steps if need be and openly favoured to start gorilla war against the Government. His extremism knew no bounds and used to express his view points so bravely and fearlessly. His out-spoken Presidential Address delivered at the annual session of the All India Muslim league held at Ahmadabad made the majority of its weak members tremble in their shoes and did not come to senses till the said Address was expunged from the organisational records. As a non-co-operator he refused even to attend the court-room to answer the charges or to file his statement. which was permitted by the Khilafat Committee. Riding on the shoulders of a police officer he was brought and placed into the court-room where he kept quiet and did not utter a single word, and after the proceedings of the so-called case against him were over, he once again riding on the back of an official returned to his cell in jail. His extremism can also well be judged from the fact that when no one was consenting to preside over the newly formed Communist Party, condemned by our Ulema as an organisation of the infidles, Hasrat, with one and only one consideration that the Party was working against the Government presided over its session, caring but little of those who criticised him on religious grounds. After the Partition of India he had so many chances and opportunities fo

his personal gains or reputation had he decided to migrate to Pakistan. But, a man of principle can never think of any personal gain or worldly loss, and so did Hasrat decide to remain in India to lead Muslims residing on the soil, as he knew well the mentality of the Hindus. He was elected as a Member of the United Provinces Legislative Assembly, where he openly and undauntedly supported the Muslims' cause, when many a so-called brave kept mum, lest the Hindu leadership might not become angry.

During this period once when he was pleading Muslims' cause in the Legislative Assembly a Hindu Member sarcastically cried, Go to Pakistan, but was rebuked by Hasrat in the same tone saying why he should go to Pakistan while he had created one and would carve another in India. Though he was one of the Four Dazzling Stars of united India yet he failed to form any Party of his own. He used to side with any party of extremists he came across, and when finding it not courageous enough to go to the length he wanted to march, unhesitatingly abandoned the same, and searched for a new one. He was a most self-respecting Muslim of highest degree and never accepted any monetary help from any quarter. Once when the security of his Press was forfieted by the Government and he was approached by his friends to accept financial help, he refused point-blank, whereupon Abul Kalam Azad wrote in his paper that Hasrat's Press and office could be buried

under the pieces of silver and gold but he did not like to touch the same. This strong character pushed him into unbearable hardships -bearable for him- yet he never had any grudge or grumble. He spent a very simple hard life, may rightly be called miserable, and in spite of that remained dazziing on the horizon of Muslim politics. He died a poor man's death in India leaving an examplary life for others to follow.

Abul Kalam Azad.

Now begins the story of the differences existing between the Ali Brothers (Mohamed Ali) and Abul Kalam Azad. It is painful to repeat Persian proverb saying that, whereas two poor beggers can amicably share a sheet of cloth to cover themselves two rulers (leaders) cannot stay under a single canopy. Mohamed Ali and Azad both were straightforward and could express their views against the Rulers of the time. They remained united on this front from beginning to end, but could not see eye to eye in the internal politics of the community. Unfortunately, the question of accepting or rejecting the terms brought forward by the Government in 1912, regarding the establishment of the Muslim University, divided Muslim leader-ship into two groups, as narrated in detail on previous pages. Though Mohamed Ali had vhemently opposed the Government policy from the Press and the platform yet calculating or presuming that the authorities

would put the whole scheme into cold-storage, sided with the party favouring the terms while Azad stood with those who were for the total rejection.

Mohamed Ali and Azad, both were the rising Muslim leaders of the time. Both had strong journals under their control, Comrade and the Al-Hilal, respectivily, and both had great following in the communiniy. Mohammed Ali with untiring spirit had been on the public platform since 1904, and Azad though younger in age by ten years was also in the field, not less energetic. And, while Mohamed Ali with the force of his pen, with the oratory he commanded, with the straightforward manners and daring opposition to Government and the Hindu leaders, had installed for himself the niche of leadership in the minds of the Muslims intelligencia and the masses, Azad with commanding on no less power of speech, of pen and vast knowledge of Quranic teachings had also influenced muslims, and he considered himself at par with Mohamed Ali in the field of politics. Mohamed Ali appeared to had been born with a silverspoon of leadership in his mouth and Azad gifted by nature with Quranic teachings of highest standard. Alas, while the first named never bothered about his leadership the later could not bear to see any one superior to him in guiding Muslims destiny.

To bring in any comparison between them is a very odd and painful job, yet we can see that Mohamed

Ali had secured a position in public affairs much higher than Azad, and along with, while, Mohammed Ali never cared to praise or condemn any one but on principle Azad adopted a policy to cover his opposition, where it concerned inner politics of the commutity to fire placing his guns on the shoulders of his friends and to keep himself behind the screen. But, Muslim University provided them with a chance to face each other. Their weapons, the Comrade and the Al-Hilal, began to crash, and when once, Azad came out with a lengthy articale captions as :

معشوق ما بہ شیوۂ ہرکس برابر است
با ما شراب خورد و با زاہد نماز کرد

Mohamed Ali threw a rejoinder in same coin, saying :

برکف جام شریعت برکف سندان عشق
ہر ہوس نا کے نداند جام و سندان باختن

This controversy, in fact, watered the seeds of differences and developed them to such an extent that when the Ali Brothers started Anjuman Khuddam-e-kaaba, to help the intending Hajis, Azad formed an organisation of his own, *Hizbullah*, to counter-act it· Though this organisation did not openly opposed the Anjuman yet its trend and object can well be judged from an expression made by Azad saying, that Muslims were to serve the Islamic world as a whole and not mere Kaaba. Undoubtedly, the expression was based on Islamic

teachings but surely there could have been no justification to utter the same in comparation to or against the Anjuman. However the differences were short-lived as the treacherous hands of the Government sent them behind the bars for about five years to stay there.

On their release from jail political situation of the country had been totally changed from that prevailing in 1915. the British atrocities of 1919 and the question of Khilafat had brought in a Mass Movement, supported by the Hindus and the Muslims alike. The Ali Brothers and Azad were the stalwarts of a single organisation, the Khilafat Committee, and they so boldly and unitedly opposed the British Government. But going through the records of the period of personal experience it cannot be denied that there had been vast differences between the two though, there was no open conflict. Gandhi had since became an accepted leader of the Hindus and was always shadowed by the communalists like, Madan Mohan Malaviya and others of the same or similar schools. Hindu leadership could not remain unaware of Mohamed Ali's activities and knew perfectly well that he was the man who followed Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in politics and in representing Muslims' point of view he could not spare any one in the opposition including the high-powered Hindu leader of his time, Gokhle. On Mohamed Ali's joining Congress in 1919 Gandhi availed this golden opportunity to win over the Ali Brothers, and though Azad was also an

influencial Muslim leader yet the Congress took him as an religio-political figure not at par with the Brothers. Gandhi, undoubtedly, was wise enough in formulating his policy under which he could organise his community and, in fact, he organised it. But, in spite of all this the Hindu Mahasabha which have great influence in the Congress circle, was afraid of Mohamed Ali's participation in it less he might with the co-operation of Hindus organise his own community, the Muslims and thus scrap their scheme to establish Hindu Raj on the soild of India. With the said fear in mind a conspiracy was hetched and on the iniciative o Madam Moham Malaviya, Gandhi and the Viceroy played their parts (narrated on the previous pages) In spite of that, as Gandhi was still in need of Muslin support to have his own desires fulfilled he remaine connected with the Khilafat Committee to entra the Brothers and bring them to work according to hi own wishes and inclinations. He was confident tha Mohamed Ali was the only leader who could oppos any force falling in the way of Muslim demands an to win him over Gandhi used his influence an Mohamed Ali was elected to preside over the annu session of the Congress in 1923, as it was the highe honour which the National Congress could bestow an Indian. But, Gandhi's trick failed. This temptati which could rightly becalled a *bait*, proved quite una ractive for Mohamed Ali. He came out with a mc

brilliant, straightforward and out spoken Presidential Address, in which he vehemently supporting the cause of Indians as a nation, pleading and demanding independence for his fatherland, also fearlessly advocated Muslims' point of view and went to the extent of supporting the political policy of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the System of Separate Electorates.

Hindu leadership could not tolerate such a Muslim but at the same time when the United Hnidu Muslim Movement was in full swing they could not dare to dislodge him from the high post he was holding at the time. So the Hindus began underhand dealings and tried their best to dig out ways and means to achieve their object. It is no secret to disclose, that, as stated above, Abul Kalam Azad could not bear any Muslim to appear superior to him in the political arena and had great gealoury with Mohamed Ali. The occupation of Congress Presidential chair by Mohamed Ali proved a sever shock for Azad but he could not utter a word as the election had been held with a unanemous vote by all the Provincial Congress Committees. However as Gandhi was not unaware of the internal differences existing between the two and failing to find Mohamed Ali to work under his guidance blindly, he diverted his attention towards Azad, though in appearance he posed himself as friend of the two. And a little after Azad was nominated by the Congress Working Committee to preside over a Special Session of the All India

Congress Committee, to keep the balance between the two.

Gradually, Mohamed Ali became an eye-sore and the Hindus unitedly, with secret backing of Gandhi, began to clamour to paint him with communal colours. With it all support was directed towards Azad and his followers specially the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind. Hindus successfully carried on their campaign snatching away from Mohamed Ali his best workers and friends, such as Dr. M. A. Ansari, Dr. Syed Mahmud and similar other of the first rank as well as Chaudhri Khaliq-uz-zaman, Khawaja Abdul Majid etc. of the second line and other smalll frys. One by one they deserted their mother institution, the Khilafat Committee, but it did not disheartened the Ali Brothers, except that they grieved to see their co-workers carried away by the Hindu machination and of their own selfishness. Though the Muslim opponents of Ali Brothers, under the leadership of Azad were playing in the hands of Hindu capitalists and were dancing on the tunes of Gandhi yet courage failed them to openly stand against the Brothers. Seeing failure to their lot, they in the garb of religion tried their strength in case of Wahabi-non-Wahabi controversy and the Murdering of ***Murtad***, (narrated some where else in these pages) but failed as a body to instal Azad as the Sole Representative of Muslim opinion, as Gandhi desired for himself of the whole India. Mohamed Ali lost his bests

friends but did not despair. He carried on his mission and the masses remained under his guidance, leaving deserting Muslim leaders as generals without army. However, on the publication of the Nehru Report the anti-Mohamed Ali Muslims in the Congress were to be fully exposed aud they had no other course to adopt except to openly support the Nehru Report to please their masters. Azad, who struggled hard to lower Mohamed Ali's position in the eyes of his brothers-in-faith and throw him in the sea of wilderness, was compelled by the strong opposition of the Ali Brothers to see with his own eyes the burial or drowning of the Nehru Report in the river Ravi near Lahorr in 1929, and to the utter disappointment of the said generals without army.

Abul Kalam Azad who prior to the First Great War, 1914-18, had so boldly and vigorously announced that to him even a 'vision' or 'thought' of having a non-Muslim as a leader was not short of 'infidelity', but burning in the fire of jealosy to remove Mohamed Ali from his way, openly declared that Gandhi was the best only leader he could rely upon. And the heat of jealosy so up-set him that he avoided any mention of the Ali Brothers in his autobiography, India Wins Freedom, and where-ever he has mentioned their names, only twice, they are called Mr. and not Maulana, what a narrow mindedness. Painful and tragic to learn.

This was not the case only with the Ali Brothers. Jealosy did not permit him to co-operate with the All Muslim Pakistan Movement. Azad along with his comrades, specially the Jamiat-ul-Ulama-e-Hind, vehemently opposed the Move and remained drumming on the Hindu inspired One Nation and One Country theory. And, how could the spell bound followers of Gandhi dare support Pakistan when their leader in so clear words had announced that Partition would mean to him as killing a cow into two. Gandhi used all his piosonous arrows, one after the other, last of them: Azad was installed as president of the Congress to give a Muslim colour to opposition to Pakistan and to 'President a false facade to the credulous outside world which was influenced by the powerful Congress propaganda machine into believing that Congress Party was a secular body and that the Muslim League was not. 'Though it seemed to be an innocous move yet, in fact, Gandhi had thereby tried to indirectly cutting adrift the League's claim to be the sole representative of the Indian Muslims. But Qaid-e-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah was a man not so easily be tempted or win over against his own convictions conclusions or decisions. According to one of the most famous admirer of Abul Kalam Azad, Ali Bahadur Khan, Azad "with his ability alone had created for himself a position in the political circle of India yet to a great extent he had to abandon the public-plateform...........because public plateform was occupied by the Ali Brothers. "Thus one, Moha-

med Ali Jauhar, pushed him out of the platform, and the other, Mohamed Ali Jinnah, exposed him with the title of a Show Boy, which word bcoame so popular among the Muslims, and is generally heard even today.

It is a pity that Abul Kalam Azad sacrificed all his talents, ability and knowledge at the alter of his whim and jealosy; and this jealosy dragged him to the depth of even opposing the establishment of a Muslim State, Pakistan. God had gifted him with high sense of Quranic teachings but Muslims were not fortunate enough to draw benefit and all was wasted in the ocean of self-interest, or mere to become the sole representative of the whole Muslim community. Though otherwise he would have been a most respected and trusted leader of his brothers-in-Islam.

In Exploding One-Nation

ONE NATION THEORY REFUTED

PAKISTAN: This word may have been coined during the First Great War, 1914-18, or after, will be explained in the following pages. In the light of the fact that after the Mughal Throne was usurped by the British, Muslims became uneasy and remained bewildered for a sufficiently long time. When the Hindus began whole-hearted co-operation with their new Rulers, Muslims seemed to have differed among themselves, some were for the co-operation with the English and some orthodox stood for opposition. With the advent of such a division some far-sigted Muslims tried their best to save the community from total annihilation and struggled hard to keep the Muslims' separate entity in tact. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan proved prominent of the said group and realized that the Hindus and the Muslims would not live amicably and cordially together and that the country must be partitioned. The following extract gives a well comprehensive account of the same :

"Scanning through the original historical records, one finds quite a number of ideas emanating from a galaxy of political leaders and intellectuals offering partition of India as the only solution of the Hindu-Muslim tangle in undivided India. Some of them even envisaged exchange of population. Similary, the Two-Nation Theory that gave birth to Pakistan is not of recent origin. It is as old as the Muslim struggle for an honourable place in the body-politics of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent.

"About hundred years ago, Sir Syed Ahmad had realized that Hindus and Muslims could not live as one nation. This realization came when leading Hindus of Banaras started an agitation that Urdu be replaced by Hindi and Arabic script by Devnagari in all Government offices and courts. His biographer, Maulana Hali, states in "Hayat-a-Javeed" that Sir Syed used to say that it was the first time when he was convinced that it was impossible for the Hindus and the Muslims to live as one nation or to make any joint and concerted effort for the progress of the country."

The Pakistan Times Mar. 23, 62.
Art. Dr. Abdus Salam Khurshid

And it was as late as in 1887-8, when Sir Syed in

so clear and unambiguous words had refuted the One-Nation theory of the Congress expressing :

> "The proposals of the Congress are exceedingly inexpedient for a country which is inhabited by two different nations......... Now suppose that all the English......... were to leave India...... then who would be the ruler of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances two nations —the Mohammedans and the Hindus — could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable." ibid.

Partition — Suggestions In Offing.

When the situation changed a little and Muslims realized that their future would become uncertain, Sir Syed got support from large quarters, and among these supporters we see the famous writer, Abdul Halim Sharer, penning an article in his journal *Muhazzib* (Lucknow), which runs :

> "Times are such that the religious rites of one nation cannot be performed without injuring the susceptibilities of the other. Nor is there the element of patience to ignore insults. If things have reached such a stage, it would be wise to

partition India into Hindu and Muslim provinces and exchange the population. The Hindus seem to be of the view that they should uot allow Muslims to be their neighbours. Neither do they like to convey the jingle of their temple bells to the Muslim infidels nor they themselves like to hear Azan. Surely this position would be acceptable to Muslims because they too seem to be tired of Hindus."

(Muhazzib Aug. 23, 1890)

The said move remained on the progressive march. Hindus opposed it tooth and nail, and, in opposition went to the extent of asking the Mulsims, the Christians and the Parsees, whose Meccas were outside the Indian boundary, to leave the soil if they could not reconcile or yield before the One-nation theory.

Marriage de Convenance.

Nineteenth century elapsed and the dawn of the 20th century saw up Muslims in a more determined and organised form. Mohamed Ali had since returned from England after successfully obtaining his degree, B. A. Honours, from Oxford, and shortly afterwards emerged as one of the founders of the All India Muslim Leaaue in 1906, refuting One-nation theory by demanding Separate Electorate for Muslims of India. Support began to pour in from all four corners of the country

and when Mohamed Ali entered the field of journalism in 1911 pleading the Hindu-Muslim Unity on political grounds, he so clearly stated that both the communities were distinctly separate but that they should embrace each other to free their fatherland from the clutches of the foreigners. This unity might not be a love marriage but a 'marriage de convenance'. And stressing on the separate entity of Muslims he wrote :

> "We have no faith in the cry that India is united, the problems of India are almost international... ....and in international law, the strength of a country or Power does not count, for the basic principle of that law is equality of all nations. The *Mussulmans* stand on par with the smaller Power of Europe, and can even claim like those Powers an absolute equality in all inter-communal controversies. But they do not do so, and limit their demand to such a representation as is adequate and effective for the preservation of their existence and their honour."
>
> (Comrade Jan, 28, 1911)

Later on, his mouthpiece, the Comrade, clearly hinted that "the Hindus and Mahomadens should be segregated —Northern India to be assigned to the Muslims and the rest to the Hindus", also indicating that, "the Sikhs and Jains and other castes and creeds will go

with the Hindus." (Comrade May, 10, 1913)

The move was in its full swing when Mohamed Ali was sent behind the bars to live there for about five years. The first Great War blocked the way to any success and the British began to shower promises for the bright future of the country but they were never to be honoured. On return from jail in 1919, he found the country groaning under the high handedness and the atrocious hammering by the Britishers and which had compelled the inhabitants to unite and create a United India of Mohamed Ali's dream which politically did not exist. Under these circumstances he joined the Congress towards the end of 1919 and within three years' short time was unanimously elected as its President in 1923. Though the Congress had wedded herself with One-nation theory yet Mohamed Ali was bold enough to declare from the Congress platform and through his Presidential address that, he and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan both in demanding Separate Entity for the Muslim League, and Separate Electorate, had truly and sincerely represented the Muslims. Similarly he opposed the Nehru Report and declared in the Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference, London, that:

> "Religion to my mind, means the interpretation of life. I have a culture, a polity, an outlook on life — a complete synthesis which is Islam. Where God commands I am a Muslim first, a Muslim

second, and a Muslim last, and nothing but a Muslim......... My first duty is to my Maker, not to His Majesty the King, nor to my companion Dr Moonje......"

And warning the Rulers he so boldly inserted in his "Last Letter":

"Unless in these few provinces Muslim majorities are established by the new constitution, I submit, not as a **threat,** but as a very humble and friendly **warning,** there, will be a civil war in India. **Let there be no mi stake about it.** These are the four or five provinces where the *Mussulmans* should have precisely the same **power** as the Hindus have everywhere else, and the Hindus should have the same **protection** as the *Mussulmans* demand where they are in minority."

Undoubtedly, Mohamed Ali did not demand Partition and similar was the case with Muslim League and the All India Muslim conference, or in more clear words, partition did not form part of Jinnah's Fourteen Points or the Delhi Proposals. But Muhamed Ali even at the time when he could well see the angel of death approaching him asked Hafiz Hidayat Hussain, Bar-at law and one of his Aligarh days' pal, to recite Yasin (Surah XXXVI of of the Qur'an) which is generally read beside one near to breath one's last, and during

such critical hours he asked Hafiz to see that Muslims should unitedly demand their own rule in the five Muslim majority provinces. (N. W. F. P., the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Bengal.) It means that he clearly hinted Partition, the two Indias separately ruled by two separate nations according to their own ideologies. It shows that Mohamed Ali was one of the originators of the idea of Partition and practically he fought hard for the sacred cause, and can rightly be called the Progenitor of Pakistan. He rowed the boat in the harsh stormy seas and handed it over at the Round Table Conference, London, to M. A. Jinnah, in whose hands Providence destined the fate of Muslim India, to become Qaid-e-Azam and Father of the Nation, and who so successfully brought the ship safely to the shores of Pakistan.

Dr. Iqbal — the Poet of Islam's Reawakening.

Dr. Sir Mohamed Iqbal, who in the words of Mohamed Ali, " was the poet of Islam's reawakening in India in the 20th century, and to no man does Muslim India owe a greater debt than to this modest, shy and retiring barrister of the Punjab," " catching or supplementing the idea of Mohamed Ali, he advocated Partition, though not on a very clear-cut lines, in his Presidential Address delivered at the historic session of the All India Muslim League held at Allahabad (India) in 1930 Iqbal's " splendid contribution to theMusl im political thought — to the promotion of separatism and

to the establishment of Pakistan — is an established fact which could hardly ever be challenged, (*but*) *it is* historically incorrect to say that he was the originator of the idea of a separate Muslim State."

(Pakistan Times, Dr. Abdus Salam Khurshid 23-3-62)

How The Word Pakistan Was Coined.

As is given above the trend of separation and dividing India into two parts existed since the English stepped on the soil of India to govern it, later on, may that be Sir Syed, Sharer, Mohamed Ali or Iqbal, none of them used the word *Pakistan*.

In fact, it was Chaudhri Rahmat Ali who, in 1915, first coined the word, Pak-stan, in Urdu while delivering a speech in the Punjab. Later on when he joined the Universty of Oxford and was called to Bar the said idea of partition gradually progressed in him and was matured. During the London Round Table Conference he tried his best to convince the Muslim delegates to adopt and use the same word but met very little success. However, he did not lose mind and was determind to carry on with his proposal. He hunted for young Muslim elements to share his views and was successful in bringing to his support three young men residing in England namely: Mohamed Aslam Khattak, Mohamed Sadiq and Inyatullah, who so willingly signed his first pamphlet or hand-bill issued in 1933.

In the first place or instance the word was spelt as PAK-STAN, representing as under :

P for the Punjab,

A for the Afghan Province (N. W. F. P.)

K for Kashmere

S for Sind

TAN for Baluchistan.

But, later on one Dr. L. R. Khan (M. D. St. Andrews, Scotland) from Jamshedpur (India) now in Pakistan suggested that a letter "i" be inserted between PAK and STAN to give the word an oriental outlook and meaning, which he accepted and since then it became Pakistan instead of the original Pakstan. It should also be noted that Rahmat Ali's Pakistan did not include the Province of Bengal while it was a part of Mohamed Ali's proposed division. referred to above.

Enroute To Round Table Conference

PRIOR TO JOINING ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

THE annual session of the All-India *Khilafat* declaring its goal of "Complete Independence with doors for negotiations open," and the Congress after drowning in the river Ravi the Nehru Report and declaring its object, "Complete Independence and boycotting the Round Table Conserence," were concluded towards the end of December 1929. Both the camps disappeared from the soal of Lahore in no time and forces of both were scattered throughout the country to achieve their respective objects. The Congress launched, *Satyagarah* to press hard the authorities to yield to and accept the Congress, or in more clear words, Gandhi as the sole Representative of India, while the Khilafatists were running to save Muslims from the Hindu onslaught and to keep their separate entity intact as a community or nation in itself. The *Khilafat*

Working Committee issued a historical lengthy statement during April 1930, some passages of which have already been reproduced in the previous chapter, and thus both the institutions seemed to be standing poles asunder. The struggle or the tug-of-war between the Congress and the *Khilafat* remained alive during the whole year of 1930. The Ali Brothers proved a Wall-of China in the Gandhian way and the Government remained unmoved as far as it was concerned with the acceptance of the demand put forward by the Congress.

It should be recalled that on the proclamation of Montago-Chelmsford Scheme it was clearly stated that another instalment would be introduced in a decade to bring India to near her goal of Dominion Status. To fulfil the promise the British Government appointed a Royal Commssion with Sir John Simon (afterwards Viscount Simon) at its head to take stock of the situation and submit proposals for the extention of further Reforms into the Sub-continent. The Hindus and the Muslims, as has already been stated, were at logger-heads; but in spite of all the differences they united to boycott the Commission and achieved their object with an historical success. However, the Commission completed its task by travelling and touring the country andleft the soil on March 31, 1928; and publishing its Report in the summer of 1930, which in the words of the H. H. Aga Khan:

"......on the constructive side of its task that the Commission's report fell sharply short of the high expectations and hopes that its appointment had- aroused. "P212 M.A.G.

However, after the publication of the Simon Commission's Report, the Government in the beginning of 1930 decided to hold a Round Table Conference in London to consider the future of the country and the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, was successful in inviting a representative delegation to discuss the date and personel to be invited to the Round Table Conference. This delegation included Gandhi, Mohamed Ali, Motilal Nehru, V. J. Patel, Sapru, wherefrom later on Gandhi withdrew as he could not be crowned with the sole leadership of India, and Mohamed Ali could not join owing to his indisposition.

In the middle of the year Mohamed Ali's health once again appeared critical and with it he also began to lose eye-sight. Even in such a serious position he did not like to rest and let the cause of freedom for all be endangered. The Conference was in sight and all the Government and national activities had shifted their centre to Simla, Working with the time Mohamed Ali too decided to move to Simla where the Viceroy so generously deputed his own physician. To look after him Mohamed Ali's critical position can easily be judged from the following exchange of views of a patient lady

and the doctor, in the words of Mohamed Ali:

> "The lady asked the doctor, when she saw a strange-looking Indian coming into the European quarters:" "What is this old man ailing from?" The doctor said, "Ask me rather what the old man is not ailing from." Speeches P-459

The question of the selection of national representatives was the main debating point of the time. Speculations were aired every now and then, and at last the Government placing its cards before the public disclosed that it had decided not to invite any organisation of the country. But the leaders were invited in their personal capacities.

Mohamed Ali's speech in the Confcrence saying:

> "I am the only person belonging to my party who has been selected by His Excellency the Viceroy, or the Government of His Majesty here, or whoever it is who has appointed these wonderful Delegates. Whose delegates we are we do not know. I do not pretend to present anybody; but I will say this much, as I feel certain that when you have heard me — I hope patiently— you will say that I am right in my claim, that at least I am not misrepresenting myself, and I think that should be enough. In politics there is

too much misrepresentation even of oneself."

P-457 Speeches.

Though the organisations were ignored by name yet representation was accorded to nearly all the political parties existing on the soil of India. And in spite of the fact that the Congress had decided to boycott the Conference many of its big-guns joined it too willingly when invited to do so, exeept Gandhi. He was so openly committed to refrain unless his claim of being the sole Representative was accepted. Neither the Government was in a position to consider it nor the minorities going to agree to it. The *Khilafat* Committee in its resolution passed at Lahore had kept the door open for negociation. Hence in accordance with the resolution Mohamed Ali accepted the invitation.

Invited To Rampur After Years of Exile.

From Simla Moahmed Ali was shifted to Bhopal where Nawab Hamidullah Khan, one of his great friend and admirer, turned his Guest House into a hospital for him and deputed his personal physician, Dr. Abdur Rahman, to look after him. Nawab Hamid Ali Khan of Rampur had since died, his successor invited Mohamed Ali to pay a visit and this was the first time when after spending years in exile Mohamed Ali was invited to his place of birth by the new young Ruler of Rampur. But he was lying in a critical state of health and was nct

allowed by the medical advisers to take the risk of any journey. So Nawab of Bhopal himself regretfully informed the Ruler of Rampur of Mohamed Ali's inability to move to his beloved soil.

On way to offer best of Jehad

Even during these days when he was in a state of agony some of his opponents were so cruel as not to spare him of their worst abuses, which were continuously pouring on him, through the Press and platform. They shamelessly taunted him saying that his journey was for the love of the British and desire to shake hands with the King; In contrast they praised Gandhi for his courage to boycot the Conference. But, later on, when their leader Gandhi, went back on his words and joined the Conference they became deaf and dumb and could not utter a single word against him – and how they could do when they were under his obligations. Mohamed Ali was all the time lying half-conscious in his bed at Bhopal. He neither could hear the criticism levelled against him nor was in a position to reply. His physical and mental condition as well as the determination to join the Conference can be judged from the following few lines which form part of a private letter addressed to his great admirer, Abdul Majid Daryabadi.

"......my feet have already lost feelings and it is

> increasing daily. And during summer gangerins and their operation may prove fatal as had been the case with the younger brother of Dr. Ansari ......I am still confined to bed. During the Conference deliberations I will have to fight on each point with the Hindus and the English, and moreover with my own Muslim brothers. Fighting on all three fronts, I am afraid, may lead to heart failure. The greatest misfortune now is that I have been deprived of my health to read or write any more ......But, I consider it a religious duty to join the Conference and give vent to my feelings in presence of the arrogant rulers and their arrogant subjects, and thus perform the bestof Jehad, till I breath my last." P-159 M. D.

And, he appeared to have been so sure of his end to prophecy thus.

> "......By taking loan or by begging, however it may be, I will collect three-four thousand rupees to bear expenses of my wife to accompany me. She, all along her life, have shared with me in thick and thin, and when now I am launching on my last voyage I like to see her standing beside my bed at the last moment." M. D.

Mohamed Ali was losing health with rapidity and long before the time of his departure he was not

allowed to be frequently visited by his friends. He had totally lost sight of his left eye and the right one was also in danger. Even in such a state of health he dictated for hours a lengthy letter addressed to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the leader of the Liberal Party and a famous influential politician of India, on the prevailing situation and the future of the country. On arrival in Bombay enroute to England, he was examined by a most prominent eye-specialist, who expressed that there was no hope of restoring light to his left eye and the right was also leading towards the worst. He was advised to give up all activities, reading, writing and talking; and was asked to observe the advice too strictly as not to even call or shout for his personal servant. The servant should be instructed to be present near his bed and work on his gestures and signs instead of words. But, Mohamed Ali was not a man to-deter from his duty.

Appearance of the so-called Azad Muslim Party

During the same period Mohamed Ali received a letter from the Government offering cash allowance to the Delegates for preparing their kits to join the Conference. Mohamed Ali took this move of the Government seriously and addressed a lengthy letter to the Viceroy condemning his policy which in his opinion tantamounted to presuming the Indian Delegates as paupers and naked, and refused to accept the same.

Vhat a glorious proof of self-respect. The Congress vas all out to prevent him to leave for London and 'ollow in the footsteps of Gandhi, but had no courage ;o oppose him publicly or organise any demonstration against him. However, there appeared some so-called Muslim leaders in Bombay styled as Azad Muslim Party working as stooges of the Congress. They without taking stock of the situation and the presence of Shaukat Ali in the city tried to organise a public meeting of "the Muslims of Bombay" to press and compel Mohamed Ali not to join the Conference. The place and the time of the meeting was announced and just on hearing it Shaukat Ali along with his party rushed to the scene and occupied the chairs on the dias before the organisers arrived. On seeing the situation, the Azad Party-members were naturally perturbed as they were generals without army. Shaukat Ali being confident of having the backing of the Muslim masses and the audience shouted on the organisers. "Come forward and address the gathering and seek public view." But, who could dare to oppose or stand against Shaukat Ali, speciallay in a mass meeting held in Bombay. Some workers reading the situation tried to intervene for a compromise. Discussion began on the dias and it was decided and agreed by the organisers that there would be no demonstration whatsoever against Mohamed Ali's participation in the Conference. The agreement was written on the spot. Seth Suleman Qasim Mitha, a wellknown Khilafatist, was voted to the

chair and Mohamed Irfan, one of the Secretaries of the Central Khilafat Committee, was to read the agreement. But the Chairman objected saying that the defeated part yshould read it to the public. Mr. Chagla then took up the paper in his hand and read it out to his party's utter dismay and helplessness.

Left India For London.

Mohamed Ali reached Bombay. He had to be carried in an invalid-chair to the ship. And remained on deck a little while before the siren for departure was sounded. Begum Mohamed Ali, Shaukat Ali and Zahid Ali, the eldest son of the Big Brother, accompanied him. A few months earlier, Mohamed Ali had instructed Mian Jaffar Shah and the writer to accompany him as his secretaries in connection with the Frontier affairs, which were most important in his opinion, and in fact were. We both did not take the command very seriously. Mian Jaffer Shah somehow even failed to present himself at the port while the writer of these lines was the last man who left his leader after the last siren of the ship sounded. Mohamed Ali a little before the sailing of the ship was removed from the deck to the lounge and there he first time learnt that we were not accompanying him. He looked somewhat disturbed on our inability to accompany him. And I have no words to express the uneasiness and pain which I felt at the time of taking leave of

him and leaving the ship to sail. The Big Brother described this departure in the following words.

> "My brother as was known to everybody was a fearless and indefatigable worker and fighter in the cause of Islam and the country. Inspite of his very serious illness and extremely bad health and in the face of warning from friends and medical advisers, he went to England to take part in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference, held with the intention of bringing about a fair and honourable peace and understanding between India and England, and all those connected with them. Mohamed Ali's answer to all these protests was that a soldier has to do his duty even at the greatest personal risk when his faith and country were in danger, specially at the time when some of his co-workers were divided, and an important section of them had refused to listen to his advice and had not accepted the line of action which he and an overwhelming majority of Muslims of different shades of opinion had decided upon. He said he had lived all his life for work and any consideration for his own health and comfort would be criminal and cowardly." P-1 L.W.

Mohamed Ali as has already been described was carried in an invalid-chair to the ship bound for the

United Kingdom in the begining of October 1930, the voyage started and the ship began progressing towards her destination. But his health detriorated and caused an. axiety to such an extent that on approaching the shores of France, it was considered inadvisable to continue the sea journey. He was rushed to Paris for immediate treatment. What happened all along the way is described in a letter addresses to his daughter Zohrabi and some passages of the same are reproduced below :

Gandhi Repents

Gandhiji boycotting the first session of the Round Table Conference tried his best to infuse more and more strength into his *Satyagarah* Movement which had been started to frighten the Muslims and to compel the Government to surrender; but when he saw that many of the Congress big-guns, under the garb of individualism and the Muslims on their own accord had joined the Conference and there appeared no chance of his being accepted as the sole representative of India, he began to search for a wayout to lead him to London, lest the participating members might arrive at a settlement without his guidence and thus he might loose the present position also. During this situation. "Some one suggested," writes Jawaharlal Nehru, "that

> Gandhiji should write to the Viceroy and ask for an interview and have a frank talk with him." P-249 J.A.

:cepting the inspired suggestion he did ask for an in rview, and the Viceroy seeing that such a great leader ıs descending from the heights of a sole represen- tive's position to that of an organisation, welcomed m, and granted him, not one but several interviews. nd during these parleys when Gandhi agreed to ıuspend" his *Satyagarah* Movement the attitude of ıe Viceroy became stiff and he:

> "objected to the word (suspension) and wanted finality about the word to which Gandhiji could not agree. Ultimately the word, discontinue was used." P-250 J.A.

In short, Gandhi failing in his tactics surrendered nd promised to suspend or discontinue the Satyagarah [ovement and signed a statement during the night f 4/5th of March 1931, para 2 of which runs :

> "As regards constitutional questions, the scope of future discussion is stated, with the assent of His Majesty's Government, to be with the object of considering further the scheme for the constitutional Government of India discussed at the also Round Table Conference. Of the scheme there outlined, should federation is an essential part; so are Indian reponsibility and reservations or safeguards in the interests of India, for such matter as, for instance, defence; external affairs; the

position of minorities; the financial credit of India; and the discharge of obligations." P-357 J.A.

The *Satyagarah* Movement was suspended forthwith and Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, extended to him an invitation to join the second session of the Round Table Conference, of course in his personal capacity, which he accepted; and thus towards the end of August 1931 he sailed for London accompanied by Mrs. Sarojni Naidu, and participated as a member shoulder to shoulder with others. Hewas not then in his imaginary heights of a sole represen- tative, representing the whhole of India, rather wa seen walking and following His Highness Sir Sultan Mohamed Khan, Aga Khan the III, who led the Indian Delegation to the audience of the King of England and Emperor of India. What an inconsistant policy of a leader of the Hindu world.

At The Round Table Conference

THE PLANARY SESSION

AT the risk of his life Mohamed Ali had undertaken the voyage without wasting a single minute to reach London, before the inauguration of the Round Table Conference and have consultations with other Delegates. As his health improved slightly he took leave of his medical advisers and stepped on the soil of England just in time to participate in the deliberations of the Conference.

> "His health in England," writes Shaukat Ali "was so shattered and he was so weak that he could hardly stand or go about, and yet it was my painful experience to see him moving about trying to do his duty inspite of great physical strain. With sympathy and consideration he might have done better and suffered less but in the present day of excitement and misunderstanding they were not available.". L.W. P-4

Though many of the Muslims and non-Muslims used to pay visits to see him at his Hyde Park Hotel yet when ever he could leave his bed he rushed to Ritz Hotel where the Muslim delegates met for deliberations.

The conference begins.

Mohamed Ali requested the chairman of the Planary Session of the Round Table Conference held on Wednesday, November 19, 1930, at St. James Palace, London to allow him "to exercise the privilege of thei nvalid and remain seated." And thus seated in a chair he delivered the historic speech which was appreciated and applauded even by his opponents and which shall have to remain like a beacon to guide our coming generations in supporting the right cause without any fear of wordly gain or loss, as the Holy Quran says:

"فلا تخافوهم و خافون و ان کنتم مومنین"

Fragments of a Great Speech

We reproduce below some passages from the great speech Mohamed Ali delivered at the Planery Session referred to above.

> "I am the only person belonging to my party who has been selected by His Excellency the Viceroy, or the Government of His Majesty here, or whoever it is who has appointed these wonder-

ful Delegates. Whose Delegates we are we do not know. I do not pretend to represent any body; but I will say this much, and I feel certain that when you have heard me,-I hope patiently, you will say that I am right in my claim, that at least I am not misrepresenting myself, and I think that should be enough. In politics there is too much mispresentation even of oneself."

"......I, a republican, make this confession, that I place my trust in the man—I call him a man, because a man is after all a human being "—who inaugurated this Conference in the Gallery of the House of the Lords, whose name is George. Whether you call him His Majesty or whatever you call him, he is man. He knows India better than any of his Ministers, past or present, and I am looking up to him to do justice to the 320 million who constitute one-fifth of the whole of Humanity."

"When I was sent to Simla to the hospital I made a judicious separation between two fiances, a lady on one side, and military officer on the other who were to be married very shortly. I occupied a room between them: both were ailing. A man with my dilated heart; with my approaching and recur-

rent blindness through retinitis ; with my once gangrened foot, with neuritis --this huge bulky foot through oedema ; with albuminaria with diabetes, and the whole long list that I could give you if Colonel Gidney would not think I was becoming his rival as a medical man, I says no sane man with all these ailments would have travelled seven miles. And yet I have come seven thousand miles of land and sea because, where Islam and India are concerned, I am mad,."

"I do not care what constitution you prepare for us ; but all would be well if you have got one man in England who is a real man --

Oh God, for a man with heart, head, hand,
Like some of simple great ones gone
For ever and ever by.
One still strong man in a blatant land,
Whatever they call him, what care I ? --
Aristocrat, autocrat, democrat --one
Who can rule and dare not lie."

" ......today the one purpose for which I came is this --that I want to go back to my country if I can go back with the substance of freedom in my

hand. Otherwise I will not go back to a slave country. I would even prefer to die in a foreign country so long as it is a free country, and if you do not give us freedom in India you will have to give me a grave here."

Lord Peel said, "Oh, yes, but when you go back to your country with a constitution such as you want, those people who are Co-operating will wrest it from your hands." "Wrest it! When I can fight the British I can fight the Indians too. But give me something to fight for. Do not let me go back from here with a charter of slavery and then expect me to fight my own people. I could not do it, and if tried to do it, I should fail. But with freedom in my hands I would gladly go back to those in whose name my friend, Mr. Jayakar, spoke. He claimed to speak for Young india. I think he knows that, although I am older than him in years, I am a younger man in heart, in spirit, in temperament and in love of fighting...... My brother and I were the very first to be sent to gaol by Lord Reading. I bear him no grudge for that; but I want the power also, when Lord Reading goes wrong again in India, to send him to gaol."

"I have not come to ask for Dominion Status. I do not believe in the attainment of Dominion Status. The one thing to which I am committed is complete independence. In Madras in 1927 we passed a resolution making that our goal. In 1928, in the Convention of All Parties, the adoption of the Nehru Report Constitution was moved, the very first clause of which was about Dominion Status. Even my old secretary, Pandat Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congres today, was kept down by his father.........It was his father who, as President of the Congress, throttled poor Jawaharlal at Calcutta in 1928. Well I got up in his place, when he could not speak for complete independence, and I opposed the clause dealing with Dominion Status."

"As I said two or three days ago, India has put on fifty-league boots. We are making forced marches which will astonish the world, and we will not go back to India without the birth of a new Dominion we shall go back, believe me, to a lost Dominion. We shall go back to an America. Then you will witness, not within the British Commonwealth, or the British Empire, but outside it, with the Indian Princes, with Dr. Moonje, with Mr. Jayakar, with myself and my brother, a

Free and United States of India. It will be something more than that."

"We are told that there are difficulties." It is said, "Look at the States." But I come from the States, and I know they present no difficulty whatever." Then there is the Army." Well what about the Army? It is the biggest indictment against Great Britain that the Army is not ours today, and if you ever use that excuse of the army you will condemn yourselves out of your own mouths. Let me tell you frankly and honestly, but in a friendly way, that your greatest sin was the emasculation of india.

"...Speakers had spoken of Gandhi's new philosophy. I said, Please understand one thing about that. Whether it is his philosophy or Tolstoy's, Jesus Christ's or mine, it is the universal human philosophy. No body wins in a battle if there is merely the will to kill. You must have the will to die even before the will to kill. In India we have not the power to kill, but the moment we develop the will to die, numbers will tell. 320,000,000 of people cannot be killed. There is no mechanization to which you can find justification to kill 320,000,000 people. Even if you have got that mechanization,

even you have got the **materiel,** you have not the **morale** (or **immorale**) to dare to kill 320,000,000 people. We must have in us the will to die for the birth of India as a free and united nation."

"......the Hindu-Muslim difficulty, like the Army small difficulty. is of your own creation. But not all together, it is the old maxim of 'divide and rule'. But there is a division of labour here. We divide and you rule. The moment we decide not to divide you will not be able to rule as you are doing today. With this determination not to be divided we have come here. Let me assure every British man and woman who thinks of shaping our destinies that the only quarrel between the Hindus and the Muslims today is quarrel that the Muslim is afraid of Hindu domination and the Hindu, I suppose, is afraid of Muslim domination ....The very fact that Hindus and Muslims are quarrelling today shows that they will not stand British domination either for one single minute. That is the point to grasp. British dominion is doomed over India."

" Many people in England ask us why this question of Hindu and Muslim Comes into politics, and what it has to do with these things. I reply,

it is a wrong conception of religion that you have, if you exclude politics from it. It is not dogma; it is not ritual. Religion to my mind, means the interpretation of life. I have a culture, a polity, an outlook on life, a complete synthesis which is Islam. Where God commands I am a Muslim first, a Muslim second, and a Muslim last, and nothing but a Muslim......My first duty is to my Maker, not to His Majesty the King, nor to my companion Dr. Moonje....He must be a Hindu first and I must be a Muslim first so far as that duty is concerned. But where India is concerned, where India's freedom is concerned, where the welfare of India is concerned, I am an Indian first, and Indian second, and Indian last, and nothing but an Indian."

If there is one other sin with which I charge Great Britain, in addition to the sin of emasculating India, it is the sin of making wrong histories about India and teaching them to us in our schools, with the result that our schoolboys have learnt wrong Indian history. The quarrels which are sometimes visible in our streets on certain holidays or quarrels the motives of which have been instilled into the hearts of our so-called intelligentsia——I call it unintelligentsia — by the wrong history taught to us in our schools for

political purposes.

"......thanks to the jerrymandering of our saints and our soldiers, there are Provinces like that of my friend Dr. Moonje, in which I am only 4 per cent, there are other Provinces where I am 93 percent as in the Province of my friend Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum, for which we demand equal freedom. There is the old Province of Sind, where the Muslims first landed, where they are 73 percent.; In the Punbab they are 56 per cent,, and in Bengal 55 per cent. That gives us our safeguard, for we demand hostages as we have willingly given hostages to Hindus in the other Provinces where they form huge majorities."

"I want you to realise that for the first time you are introducing a big revolution into India; for the first time majority rule is to be introduced into India. In the days of lord Rama there was no majority rule, or he would not have been exiled. The old Pandu and Kuru rulers, who gambled their kingdom away, did not have majority rule; Mahmud of Ghazni and Akbar and Aurangzeb did not have majority rule, nor did Shivaji; when Ranjit Singh rules in the Puniab, he too did not have majoirty rule; when Warren Hastings and

Clive ruled India, they did not have majority rule; and even in the days of Lord Irwin there is no majority rule......I am prepared to submit to majority rule. Luckily, however, there are Muslim Majorities in certain Provinces; and with the federal form of government which is suited to India, not only for the solution of Hindu-Muslim problem, but is essential for the sake of the Princes also......"

"I sometimes hear it is said that nothing can be done without the consent of the Princes. No, Your Highnesses, we, Our Lownesses, will do nothing wothout your consent. But when, at the end of 1857, the powers of the East India Company were transferred to the Crown, no body ever thought of asking for your consent. There was not so much as "By your leave." Your relation with the Crown was established merely **ipso facto**, but it was with a family of Kings and Queens who were really good people, many of whom worshipped their conscience as their King, and it is that which gives us hope."

"The Government of India Despatch.......says that the Army should not be under the control of of the Government of England but under the

Government of India. There are three Members of the Government of India the pigment of whose skin is the same as mine, and in some cases even darker. Two of them were my stable companions in England as students, and the third also studied here at that time. If these people can control the Army, why cannot Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as Prime Minister of India? Why cannot Sir Muhammad Shafi or Mr. Jinnah be Prime Minister of India, and control the Indian Army? or why cannot even a humble man like myself or my big brother become the Commander-in-Chief of India? I have no doubt exhausted your patience, but I can assure you my speech has been, so far as I too am concerned, both exhausting and exaustive. I now take my seat and I hope I shall not be called upon to speak again in the Plenary Conference until you announce, Mr. Chairman, that India is as free as England."

The Last Letter Dictated.

Mohamed Ali had left no physical strength in his body to move yet he wanted to place his view-point in detail before the British Government, and on hearing of which Mr. McDonald, the Prime Minister, deputed Sir Geoffery Corbatt, who knew Mohamed Ali from Chhindwara, 'to be present when notes could be taken down of what he said on the subject of his vies.' Thus

he dictated a lengthy letter addressing to the Prime Minister on the New Year day of 1931 corrected and signed it on the next day, fell unconscious on the 3rd and passad away quietly on the 4th of January in Hyde Park Hotel London.

> "I am far too ill," runs the first sentence of the letter, "as I said in my opening speech in the Plenary Conference, to have come to the Indian Round Table Conference, and the work and more particularly the worry through which I have been passing have without exaggeration nearly killed me as my doctors would tell you. On the 19th of December I fell unconscious and remained so for more than 24 hours. While my pulse was 140, my temperature was only 97 and went down to 95 and my respiration was 30, yet my desire for doing the work which had brought me here was so great that I invited the Lord Chancellor to breakfast at 8 o'clock that evening believing it to be the morning. He very kindly came the next day, but my brother allowed him to interview me only for 10 minutes, and even in that short time it was with great difficulty that I could express myself." L. W. P-8

Dealing with the question of minorities he wrote:

> "In the first place it is misnomer to call the Hindu-Muslim question a question of minorities. There are certainly minorities in India, and we

must provide for them in such a way that they should feel that the future Government of India is not going to be a government only of one or two communities, but the government of all Indians irrespective of creed and caste. Nevertheless the one hitch in the way of the recognisation of India's responsibility with a government of her own is the question not of these minorities but the deep-seated differences that divide the Hindus and the Muslims." L. W. P-9

And describing that Muslims ruled over India from the beginning of the 8th to the middle of the 19th century and adds :

"Whether by conquest or by diplomacy the Muslim rule had passed finally from the hands of the *Musalmans* to those of the British, barring of course, the rule of the Indian States, many of which remain from time immemmorial, great and distinguished Hindu principalities tracing their origin even from the sun and the moon. Whatever the relations of the Muslim power as suzerain or as the paramount power to these Hindu States, there is not the least doubt that they retained not only for the most part a deep feeling of loyalty towards the Muslim power, but also a degree of independence which they have recently lost since the transference of Muslim power into British hands." L. W. P-10

And further declared that:

> "The *Musalmans* constitute not a minority in the sense in which the last war and its sequel has habituated us to consider European minorities. The League of Nations deals with minorities and our Indian Saints and professors easily borrow maxims from the League of Nations and its dealings with minorities and with mandates and want to guide India from Geneva when really it is India itself that can provide far better guidance for Geneva. A community that in India alone must now be numbering more than 70 millions cannot easily be called minority in the sense of Geneva minorities, and when it is remembered that this community numbers nearly 400 million of people throughout the world, whose ambition is to convert the rest of mankind to their way of thought and their outlook on life, and who claim and feel a unique brotherhood, to talk of it as a minority is mere absurdity." L. W. P - 11

Proceeding further and discussing in detail the question of Hindu-Muslim unity, so dear to his heart, he painfully expresssed that:

> "This question should have been settled in India. We who worked for ten years through thick and thin with Gandhiji pressed that upon him, but the desire of retaining Hindu popularity for himself

and for Pandit Motilal Nehru (who I am sorry are absent) prevented a settlement.") L. W. P - 12

And expressing himself inconnection with the freedom of the country he says:

> " I am more anaxious than any Indian perhaps to get rid of the foreign incubus, if I may be forgiven to say so, of' a nation of shopkeepers' controlling our destinies. But as I wrote to His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to the invitation of his Majesty's Governmt to me to this Conference, I do not wish to create a home made incubus of a caste of shopkeepers of our own." P - 14

Further, he expressed his desire to go back to India not with separate electorates only nor with weightage for Muslims but with Freedom for the Muslims. To him freedom of India was not only the retention of separate electorates though being one of the authors of the said system in 1906 he could be the last person to surrender that scheme, and after presenting a formula of his own, for future elections, demanded Power for Muslims in the provinces where they were in majority and consented to offer the same to the Hindus in the Provinces where they were dominating saying.

> " What is needed is to give power to a community which is in a majority in any province no matter how small or how large it may be, and

Protection to it in a province no matter how large or small it may be. The *Mussulmans* desire- **and this is the crux of their 14 points** and **not separate electorates** - that there should be a federal government so that the central unitary Government with a permanent Hindu majority should not override them everywhere..." L.W. P-18

And then so boldly warned the Rulers thus :

" Unless in these few provinces Muslim majorities are established by the new constitution, I submit, not as a **threat**, but as a very humble and friendly **warning**, there will be civil war in India. **Let there be no mistake about that.** These are the four or five provinces where the *Mussulmans* should have precisely the same **power** as the Hindus have everywhere else, and the Hindus should have the same protection as the *Mussulmans* demand where they are in minorities."

And, to end the said historical letter Mohamed Ali wrote :

" I close this statement of mine which has been dictated through the kindness of the prime Minister and Sir Geoffery Corbett in absolute defiance of my doctors who are greatly displeased with the liberty I have taken, and yet if I had not taken this liberty I should have disobeyed them

still more greatly and would have gone to the Conference to put this case before the Committee and the Conference even if I died......it represents the views of many scores of millions of Muslims whose voice may not be heard in the Round Table Conference but whose sentiments cannot be ignored by the Indian administrators as I feel sure Sir Geoffery Corbett who has been present throughout know well enough himself." L. W. P-27

The Last Voyage

A SOLDIER HAS TO DO HIS DUTY

MOHAMED ALI under a very serious and critical position of health had dictated the letter, "The Last Words," referred to in the previous Chapter, with an object to induce and convince the British high-ups to ponder over the political situation of India in a realistic way while deciding for the future of that great land, inhabited by not less than 400 million souls; and thus he remained true to his own words that "a soldier has to do his duty even at the greatest personal risks when his faith and country were in danger," and in fact, 'he had lived all his life for work and any consideration for his own health and comfort would be criminal and cowardice.' He dictated "The Last Words" on the New Year day of 1930, corrected and signed it on the 2nd and though he had fully been exhausted yeton the last day before he lost consciousness, he had spent two hours with Nawab Sir Abdul Qayium, discussing with him the question of reforms in the North West Frontier Province, and he advised Muslims not to have any thing to do with any settlement that did not give fullest rights to the bravest sons of India--the Muslims of the Frontier

Province. He spent two hours with Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, talking about Sind, a privince he loved, because Islam, first came in there, and another two hours he spent with a Muslim sister of Lahore, Mrs. Aziz, and so upto the last he was working, and had, like a brave Mujahid and Soldier, died in harness.

After the said overburdening engagements he expressed at 5 p.m. to had been very tired and wanted rest. For two hours he did not speak and kept his eyes closed. He woke up at 7 p.m., his brain was working as usual but the tongue had stopped working. Dr. Royal rushed to examine him and to the great disappointment of all present, painfully he gave up all hopes, saying that the blood vessels had burst beyond repairs. Untill 11 p.m., on that day, he could recognise all around him, but there were signs of paralysis on the right arm, right leg and all the right side of his body. At 2 p.m. he lost his consciousness and at 9-30 a.m. on January 4, 1931, breathed his last. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi and a nurse only were present by the bed side. Soon after Begum Mohamed Ali and others living nearby rushed in. Maharajah Alwar, who was staying in the same Hotel on hearing of Mohamed Ali's losing consciousness could not sleep and frequently knocked at Mohamed Ali's room during the night in his sleeping-suit and sometimes even bare-footed. He looked sorry and sad more than any one of Mohamed Ali's relations and friends.

The Big Brother Returns From Ireland.

Mohamed Ali, to trace the history of his last days, had a severe attack of illness on the 20th of December 1930 and was entrusted into the hands of nurses who remained attending him day and night at Hyde's Park Hotel. However, after passing forty-eight hours, he recovered, rays of hope once again began to shine and it was cosidered or presumed that he would take rest to recoup and save his life. On the 30th, he looked so hopefull, energetic and fit to invite some of his friends to Shaffi's Restaurant (a famous Indian shop) to celebrate the birthday of his daughter, Gulnarbi, the wife of Shoib Qureshi. According to Shaukat Ali he never had such functions before, and when the Big Brother, to save from exertion, opposed the idea Mohamed Ali replied that his were the last days and he be permitted to have some thing to please the yong girl. The function was celebrated with good humour and Shaukat Ali finding him in good mood left for Ireland to fulfil his engagements there; and returned after four days stay. On reaching London 6 a.m. on sunday he was compelled to stay at the Railway station till 8-30 a.m. and on reaching his residence learnt that the Great Mujahid had passed away for ever. He rushed to Hotel approximately fifteen minutes after the tragedy had occured.

Medical experts opined that he neither died of heart-failure nor of any one of the countless diseases he was

suffering with; but, fell victime to extraordinary exertions and mental strain due to his continuosly dictating the letter, "The Last words," correcting it, granting long interviews and discussing the political affairs. The exertions brought about the bursting of blood vessels in his brain. They were also of the opinion that blood was oozing for several days and the extra pressure of work brought about complete paralysis.

Martyr's Body Claimed by Indians and Arabs Alike.

The most shocking and bitterly sad news of of Mohamed Ali's demise was heard, read and broadcast all the world over. The Press of India and Muslim countries in particular were flooded with details of his activities, biographical sketches, fragments from his writings and speeches. Meetings were held throughout the length and breath of India, Namaz-e-Janaza (prayers) were offered . Practically every big town in the country desired to have secured the Martyr's body for burial in their own soil. In particular, Calcutta was the first to lodge her claim telegraphically as Mohamed Ali had started his Journalist career from that city ; Delhi followed as he had developed his political life there. Bombay was next to force her claim as the Central Office of the *Khilafat* Committee situated there. Peshawar was not lagging behind and asserted through a long cable that Mohamed Ali belonged to the Pathans as their kith and kin so on and so forth.

Sitting beside Martyr's bed in England, Begum Mohamed Ali, Shaukat Ali and friends were considering the same question of his burial, Abdur Rahman Siddiqi recollected Mohamed Ali's heartfelt desire to be buried in any of the three Harems, viz Mecca, Madina or Palestine. They had not yet decided the question one way or the other when a great son of Islam, Syed Amin-al-Hussaini, the Grand Mufti of Palestine, asked for the Martyr's body through a lengthy cable containing not less than eight hundred words, saying that, Mohamed Ali, the Pan-Islamist, was not the property of any particular Muslim country but belongs to the Millat as a whole, and with it suggested to have for him the Bed-of-Honour within the precincts of Harem Sharif in Jerusalem. Who could refuse such a great great honour and who could have not been happy to see Mohamed Ali lying in the First Ka'aba, where according to Muslims uncountable numbers of prophets are resting in. The invitation was accepted with honour and pride and the Grand Mufti was informed accordingly; and preparation for the Last Voyage began.

Mohamed Ali's body remained in Hyde's Park Hotel, London, as according to the customs or law of the country it could not be removed before 12 o'clock of the night. An unending line of visitors poured into the Hotel to have a last glance of that brave son of Islam. These included Ministers of the Government, Members of the Round Table Conference, British diginataries,

Diplomats of Muslim countries, prominent personalities from different spheres of life, friends and admirers. Messrs. Mills, the famous coffin makers were in formed and the body was handed over to them to shroud. Shaukat Ali along with two Muslim students accompanied and remained at Mills' premises where the body was injected with some specific medicine to keep it preserved for years, if so desired. The coffin for the body intended to be sent out by sea was beautifully built. After wrapping the cloth, according to Muslim traditions, the body was placed in an attractive wooden box, having fixed in it a transparent glass-sheet just to enable visitors to easily have a look on the face of the dead. This box was again enclosed in a bigger one nicely made of black-wood fixed to the inner box for any damage during the transit.

Namaz-e-janaza (Prayers After Death).

On the morning of January 5, 1931, Shaukat Ali, his nephew Muzaffar and Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, gave the body its last -bath in Islamic way and the Namaze-Janaza (Prayers after death) were offered in Padington Hall at 6 p.m. Friends and admirers began to pour in long before the time fixed. The Hall was full to capacity and many had to wait outside for want of space. When the bier arrived near the Hall, His Royal Highness Shah Wali Khan (Afghanistan), Haqiqi Pasha (Egypt), Noorie Isfandiyari (Iran), Sheikh Hafiz Wahba (Hedjaz) and Rauf Pasha (Turkey) carried the

beir n their shoulder inside the Hall while other Muslim members turn by turn replaced the carriers according to Muslim tradition. Many wreaths were placed on the bier including those sent by the Maharajah of Patiala, Maharajah of Dholpur, the Maharani of Kuch-Bihar, Nizam of Hyderabad and the Indian students in England. The bier was returned to Mills again and remained there for full five days awaiting the allotment of space in a ship.

On Way to Palestine.

From Mills it was sent to Port Tilbury to be placed in S. S. Narkunda. Begum Mohamed Ali, Shaukat Ali and his son Zahid Ali boarded the ship at Marseilles on Janury 16, 1931. Grand reception was accorded by the Arabs when S. S. Narkunda called at Port Said (Egypt) on January 21, 1931 where from, the bier was sent to Cairo. Royal reception was in waiting. Police presented a Guard of Honour, members of the Royal Family including a representative of the King, many of the Ministers, diginataries, Ulema, Journalists and students formed the ceremonial procession with detachments of armedguards beside them. From Cairo it was carried to Palestine by a special railway-train where on January 23, Palestians, Egyptinians. Iraqis, Hedjazis etc, formed a grand procession unparallel in the history of that country. Muslim Ulema, the Heads of Jews and the Christian communities were leading the

procession carrying their religious or national ensigns. Shaukat Ali assisted by the Grand Mufti had to address the gatherings all along the route after short distances. Namaz-e-Janaza was offered after Friday prayers. More than two lakh muslims participated.

The body was placed to rest in its Bed-of-Honour in the precincts of Harem Sharif by Shoukat Ali, the Grand Mufti and several other Ulema present on the occasion. The outer box of black-wood was sent to India which is still lying in *Khilafat* House, Love Lane, Bombay. A Silent movie picture was produced at that time, depicting the scene from the Martyr's arrival at Port Said, its parade in Cairo and the procession formed in Palestine. Six copies of the said picture were offered to the Centeral *Khilafat* Committee, Bombay, which remained running in cinema houses throughout India for many long months as news reels.

The Big Brother Returns to India.

The brave Big Brother, grieved as he was, returned to India with broken heart but still retaining his courage to fight for the Muslims' cause. How painfully he would have uttered the following words :

"Call him (Mohamed Ali) my brother, my son, my leader or my follower, my lover or beloved, with whatever name you may call him, he has left me alone. And though I have lost my arm yet

I trust in Allah and am confident that He will give us thousands of Mohamed Alis to serve the sacred religion of Islam "

Our National Poet Mourns the Loss.

Our Great Philospher and Natonal Poet Dr. Sir, Mohamed Iqbal on hearing the and news composed the following eternal verses and mourned the death of his friend and admirer;

یک نفس جان نزار او تپید اندر فرنگ
تا مژه برهم زنیم از ماه و پرویں در گزشت

اے خوشا مشت غبار او از جذب حرم
از کنار اندلس و از ساحل بربر گزشت

خاک قدس اورا به آغوش تمنا در گرفت
سوئے گردوں رفت زاں راہے که پیغمبر گزشت

می نگنجد جذبه آں خاکے که پاک از رنگ و بوست
بندهٔ کو از تمیز اسود و احمر گزشت

جلوهٔ او تا ابد باقی به چشم آسیاست
گرچه آں نور نگاه خاںه از خاور گزشت

اقبال